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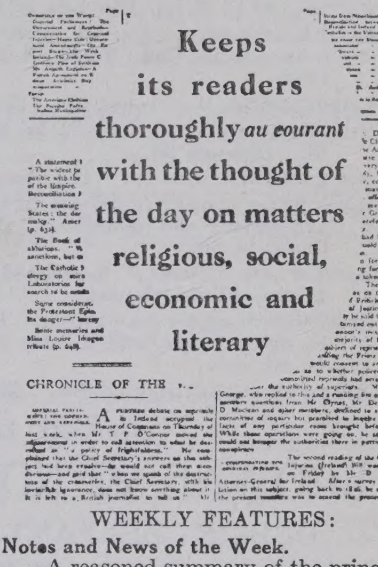

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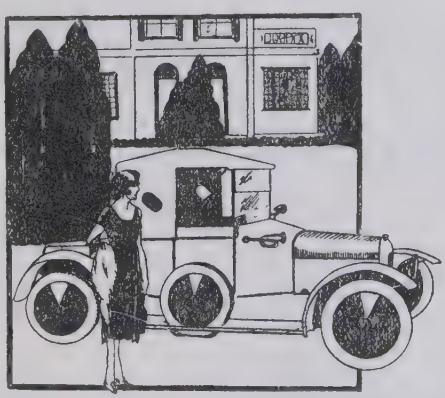

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STUDIES

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THE FIFTEENTH CENTENARY OF SAINT PATRICK

A Suggested Form of Commemoration

BY PROFESSOR EOIN MAC NEILL, D.LITT.
Minister for Education

IN little more than seven years time, Ireland and all who are of Irish origin throughout the world will be reminded that a thousand and half a thousand years have passed since the greatest event in Irish history took place—St. Patrick's mission to Ireland. All will earnestly wish to see that event worthily celebrated, and each one will wish to have some part in its worthy celebration. It is not too soon to be thinking about it, nor too soon to consider preparations. Seven years will not be too long a time for the actual work of preparation, in order that the commemoration may be worthy of the event, worthy of the man who was chosen to achieve it, and worthy of the people who were born again 1500 years ago to be a Christian nation.

Saint Patrick was the father of this nation. Seeing how God had blessed his work, in the humble and simple yet attractive words of "his Confession before he should die," he wrote with the love and tenderness of a father about "the children that he had begotten" in the Christian Faith. And ever since, the Irish people have loved and revered him as their father, the father of their nation. Other nations reverence the memory of the apostolic men to whom they owe their spiritual regeneration, yet I think it is true that no other people on the earth has for its apostle and patron saint the vivid and universal filial love and honour that the Irish have felt towards Patrick in every age, through every change of destiny, at home or in exile, in misery and

in prosperity, in servitude and in freedom, even to this day. His name unites them and uplifts them, and they rejoice to be united and uplifted in his name. Beyond doubt they will look forward with eagerness to the opportunity of his fifteenth centenary, the fifteenth centenary of Christian Ireland.

Let us recall to mind how our forefathers, in their earliest written traditions, joined together their love and honour for Patrick and their love and honour for Ireland. They tell of his prayers on Cruach and how, when his angel came without the granted boons, Patrick would not be denied and sent his petitions back to Heaven with the messenger until at last they were granted. He asked that Ireland should never lose the Faith; that she should never be conquered by foreigners; that, before the last catastrophe of the world and the evils of the last days, Ireland might be sunk beneath the sea; and that, when the Day of Judgment came, as the twelve apostles were to sit upon thrones to judge the Twelve Tribes of Israel, so it might be granted to him to be the judge of the Irish nation. Another tradition says that this promise was given to him in his last sickness :—

> Victor said: Honour to Armagh,
> to Christ render ye thanks!
> unto Heaven soon shalt thou go,
> thy prayers have been granted thee:
> the hymn thou hast chosen in thy life
> shall be a breastplate of protection for all;
> around thee on the Day of Doom
> the Men of Ireland shall go to judgment.

Most of the old traditions concerning Saint Patrick have come to us through religious writers. There is, however, one tradition which is as old as the earliest of his Lives and which is of special interest because it comes from the laity, the men of secular learning who first wrote the Laws of Ireland, and because it preserves

their testimony to the social outcome of Patrick's work and doctrine. This tradition is found in the lawtract *Córus Béscna*, one of the books of the *Senchus Mór*, written probably in the second half of the seventh century, about two centuries after Saint Patrick's death :–

> The Men of Ireland had kept the Law of Nature until the coming of the Faith in the time of Laoghaire son of Niall. In his time came Patrick. After the Men of Ireland had believed for Patrick [*i.e.*, had been converted by him], the two Laws were united, the Law of Nature and the Law of the Letter. Dubhthach moccu Lughair, the *fili*, made known the Law of Nature [to Patrick]. It was Dubhthach who first did reverence to Patrick ; it was he who first stood up in his presence in Tara. Corc son of Lughaidh [and father of Nad Fraoich, king of Cashel] first bent the knee to him : he was held a hostage by Laoghaire. Now Laoghaire withstood Patrick because of the Druid Matha Mac Umhoir ; this man, the Druid, had foretold to Laoghaire that Patrick would rob him of the living and the dead : " he shall free slaves, he shall magnify kindreds of base degree," through the orders of the Church and the service of God in penance, for the Kingdom of Heaven is accessible to every kin of men who have believed, to free kins and base kins alike ; even so, the Church is open before every man, whosoever cometh under her law.

Tradition here, as often elsewhere, represents by prophecy what was believed to be fact : that Patrick had brought freedom to slaves and that the Church paid no regard to those distinctions of race and kindred which were so much alive in the national memory. The testimony does not stand unconfirmed. In the letter to the people of Coroticus we have the Saint's own denunciation of the enslavement of Christians, and possibly it is on this ground mainly that he declares the Picts (of Galloway) to be apostates. In the Laws themselves, inferiority of race or kindred is nowhere held to be a bar excluding from any degree of franchise or civil status. On the contrary it is laid down as an axiom that " a man is better than his origin " (*is ferr*

fer a chiniud), and again "that the man of low degree may sit in the seat of the free" (*dóer i suidiu sóir*) by virtue of "his art or his thrift or his talent that God gives him." The son of a serf could become a freeman by admission to a monastic school, "for there is no Latin learning without franchise." Patrick, therefore, in the most ancient of our written traditions, worked for the unity of the Irish people not only in religion but also in civil and social life, by the example of the Church and by teaching the people that there are no barriers of race and class in the Kingdom of Heaven. And so our ancient laws concern themselves neither with Gaedhil nor Picts nor Fir Bolg, but only with Fir Erenn, the Men of Ireland.

Oengus Céile Dé shapes into a poem of skilful metre a calendar of the saints of Ireland and of the universal Church, filling out his verses with dignified adjectives and phrases, according to a custom derived from the ancient Druids who, as Cæsar tells us, were wont to convey instruction through "a great number of verses." His calendar is metrical rather than poetical, but when he comes to the feast of the national patron, he breaks into poetry :—

> Flame of a splendid sun,
> Apostle of Ireland entire,
> Patrick with his many thousands
> Be the shelter of our misery!

The author of the poem known as "Fiacc's Hymn," a short metrical life of Saint Patrick composed probably in the eighth century, regrets the departed glory of the ancient seats of power, but rejoices in the new centres of still greater power, of religion and learning: "The kingship has long since departed from Emania, it is still in Armagh; though it grieves me to see Tara deserted, Downpatrick is a mighty church. Even that valiant landloping foreigner, who seized Downpatrick and set himself up as Prince of Ulster, came under the spell of

Saint Patrick's memory, and caused a new Life of the saint to be written by Jocelyn, the monk of Furness—the beginning of a process again and again to be renewed, foreign conquest failing through the foreigners becoming Irish.

In our own day, Saint Patrick's memory, the power that he had in life projected onward through the centuries, stands guard over Ireland's unity. Armagh, Downpatrick, Sliabh Mis, nothing can separate them from " the apostle of Ireland entire." Among the memories of my childhood's home on the Antrim coast, I can recall how often I walked the mountain road, higher and higher, until a well-known spot was reached where the great dome of Slemish began to appear above the other hills. On the other side of the valley of Glenarm was the site of the ancient church of Gleoir, founded by the apostle. That was where my mother's kin belonged. Nearer home, a path along the front of the cliffs that rise above the coast road led to Saint Patrick's Well. It was not right to pass the well without making a votive offering of some part of your belongings ; the combined sentiments of reverence and thrift had brought about a uniformity of observance, and the well came to be commonly named the Pin Well. At the foot of Slemish is Baile Luig Phádraig, " the Hamlet of Patrick's Hollow "—there in my early memory lived the last native Irish-speaker in that district, who had the reputation of always saying his prayers in Irish—I think his name was Harry MacLoughlin. On the further side of the Braid valley from Slemish is Skerry, Sciridh Phádraig, " Patrick's rocky hill." On the top of this hill there is a ruined church, standing on the site of a church which the saint is recorded to have founded, and surrounded by a burial ground in which some of my kinsfolk had buried their dead from time immemorial. In this burial ground is a rock on which the angel Victor was supposed to have left his footprint—

it was pointed out to me more than forty years ago. The legend was known to the author of "Fiacc's Hymn" more than a thousand years ago. He tells how the angel came to Patrick in his captivity: "Victor said to the slave that he should flee from Míliucc across the waves: he set his foot upon the flag, its trace remains, it does not fade." Southward towards the Lagan lay the lands of Dál Buain, whose lord, Míliucc moccu Buain, had held Patrick for six years in slavery. It is a grim story and may well be a true one that tells how Patrick came back to Míliucc. The apostle had triumphed in Down. He had won over the rulers of the Ulaid. But by "the law of nature" which still prevailed in Ireland, he was still the slave of Míliucc, a runaway slave. Under the protection of his new and powerful converts, he set out to revisit his old master and purchase his liberty, so that he might work in freedom and without reproach. Míliucc feared to meet him or to refuse him, and gathering his wealth into his stockaded homestead he set fire to all and perished in the flames. Patrick began his mission among the Ulaidh of Down, because it was from them, as he relates, from Kilultagh, Coill Ultach, "Silva Ulutica," on the borders of Dál Buain, as I claim to have proved, and not from a "wood of Fochluth" which he had never seen, that "the voices of the Irish" had come to him in a dream, saying: "Come, holy youth, and walk *once more* among us." In Down he began his great work, in Down he ceased from it, in Down were buried beside him later Brigid and Colum Cille. Armagh was and is his metropolis, Patrick's city, a city of religion and of learning; Armagh with its "Saxon Third," where free education was provided for the youth of England; Armagh in which the last king of Ireland, just on the eve of the Anglo-Norman invasion, endowed a chair for the perpetual benefit of the youth of Ireland and Scotland; Armagh which holds the dust of many an Irish king, among them Brian Bóramha.

These places will cease to belong to Ireland when Patrick is forgotten. I write in the confident hope that his people will begin to think how they can best remember him when the fifteenth centenary of his great undertaking comes round. I do not doubt that they will wish to make 1932 a memorable year, and that they will prepare to do honour to Patrick and to the nation which began through him a new and glorious life, honouring him and Ireland in a manner that will bring the world to honour them. The time is not a day too long for a worthy preparation.

As to the form which the commemoration ought to take, it is not for any one person to order beforehand. Since I have the word, I shall offer some suggestions. Others will have other ideas. It is likely that no single unified form of commemoration will commend itself to all, nor is it at all necessary to have only one. Better that the commemoration should be such, that all who desire to join it should be able to do so in a manner that would most fully interest and satisfy them. I think, however, that it will be a matter of common agreement that the outcome of the common effort should not be transient, and that out of this centenary and of the action of the united Irish people in Ireland and abroad some thing or some number of things that will be permanent and noble, fitting the occasion, reverent of the past yet fruitful for the future, ought to arise.

Whatever results are desired, certain matters of preparation seem obvious. The preparation should be such that everyone everywhere who may wish to join in any degree in the commemoration may be enabled so to join. There should be some not too rigid form of association for the purpose, localised at first, leading up to joint counsels and joint action later, yet avoiding anything like an enforced uniformity. It must, I fear, be acknowledged that we sometimes give way to a

certain tendency to adopt the political model in matters of voluntary association—to act by means of authority and law; and even that we go farther, adopting the religious model, setting up doctrines, investing them with an absoluteness which only divine authority and conscience can give, and claiming a compulsory moral character for them, in spheres of action to which no such orthodoxy can rightly be applied. It is a form of juvenility—you will rarely find a crowd of children left to themselves in which there is not either a tyrannical majority or a tyrannical minority. The juvenile are ardent lovers of liberty and haters of restraint, each for himself, not quite so much for others. Those who are eager to get things done and ambitious to be in the doing of them are apt to be more or less intolerant. The result is that the bearings get warm and the machine goes out of order. At the risk of appearing didactic, I venture to say so much in favour of as much freedom as is consonant with common action.

It is also obvious that, with a view to the ultimate result, there must be material provision, which in our time means chiefly financial provision. People need hardly be reminded of the danger of such provision being wasted in mere preparations. The O'Rahilly, God rest him, when he was honorary treasurer of the Irish Volunteers, caused a wise rule to be adopted and was vigilant in having it observed. He had the income of the organisation divided into two parts, one part to bear current expenses, the other part for equipment, and he rigorously forbade and prevented the fund for equipment being applied even temporarily to current expenses. Every form of organisation or association that uses money tends to spend more and more on current expenses; not always because of neediness or greediness, but often because there is nothing easier than spending money. For the purpose under discussion, a system of small recurrent contributions seems desirable. There will

doubtless be large numbers who will desire to participate and who will only be able to participate in this way.

Now, as to the form which the commemoration ought to take; it is perhaps due from me that I should make some suggestions, if it were only to get away from vagueness.

It may be anticipated that there will be religious celebrations and that people will come from many lands to be present at them. Those who had the privilege of attending the thirteenth centenary commemoration of Saint Columbanus at Bobbio last year will look for something commensurate when Ireland and all her colonies join to celebrate the fifteenth centenary of Saint Patrick. When I speak of something commensurate, it is not a comparison between saints that I wish to suggest. Bobbio is a small town in the heart of the Apennines, where Saint Columbanus founded a seat of religion and learning. Ireland is a great and ancient nation, to which Saint Patrick gave a new and glorious life. If Ireland only does as much in her proportion to honour St. Patrick as Bobbio did last August to honour one of his greatest sons, the world will stand and admire.

There will also, doubtless, be secular celebrations and assemblages, and at this stage it would be unprofitable to speculate as to the form they are likely to take. What is of more concern to me, I confess, is whether there will be some lasting memorials of the great occasion, and of what kind. Presumably, many will think of cathedrals and monumental buildings and inscriptions in stone or bronze, nor do I say that they will not be right in so thinking. I trust that the commemoration will be on such a scale that its permanent memorials may be of various kinds and may satisfy the worthy intentions of various minds. I have no fear that Irish piety will allow itself to be neglected or ineffective. My plea is for the regeneration of the *Insula Doctorum*—that the Irish people may desire and require the celebration of

Saint Patrick's year to establish something lasting and fruitful and potent for Irish learning, for our national language—*teanga Phádraig* " Patrick's language " as our tradition calls it, for our national history, and for our national education.

As for the future of the Irish language as a spoken tongue, that depends now entirely, under God, on the cultivated will of the people individually, and if any imagine that they can secure it otherwise, the sooner they dismiss the delusion from their minds the better. My will, your will, each one's will operating on each one's self to acquire the power to speak Irish and, having acquired it, to use it—that is what counts, and that is what we have to strengthen or create. Without that, every effort is sheer waste. Perhaps by the year 1932 there will be less doubt about it.

For Irish studies, including Irish historical studies, the great and imperative need is publication. We have some capable students and scholars but very little outlet for their researches. For most of them, publication would be a sufficient reward for what they have done and a grand incentive to do more. Few can hope to make a livelihood in these days out of Irish learning, few demand it. Most are content to make a livelihood otherwise, as best they can ; but for most Irish studies are a blind alley. Given sufficient means of publication, there is nothing worth publication that exists in manuscripts or in oral tradition that will not find willing workers to make it the perpetual inheritance of all.

For Irish history, what is most needed and is severely needed is the publication of documents, the raw material of historical study. Still unpublished and existing in manuscript in various libraries are :—

I. The various medieval versions of the Lebor Gabála.—This, in an artificial framing, contains a mass of traditions belonging to the mythology of pre-Christian Ireland, also of traditions regarding the different ancient

races forming the people of Ireland. It is really an epic of pre-Christian Ireland, not the work of any one author or of any number of named authors, but a gradual growth of centuries, with additions, omissions, and changes of arrangement, according to the notions of transcribers.

II. The Annals.—Published in suitable form for the use of students, we have only the Annals of the Four Masters, the Annals of Ulster, and the Annals of Loch Cé. The Annals of Tigernach, so-called, of the highest critical value, are to be found in O'Conor's edition, extremely defective, and in an addition by Whitley Stokes running through a series of numbers of the *Revue Celtique*, without indexes or suitable annotation. The Annals of Innisfallen and the Annals of Boyle are found in O'Conor's defective edition also, now wholly out of date. O'Conor's editing and translations are full of serious errors. There are besides various minor chronicles; also poems based on chronicles, such as those of Flann of Monasterboice edited by me in *Archivium Hibernicum*, from all of which great light on our medieval history may be derived.

III. The Genealogies.—It is not to be supposed that the Irish Genealogies are mere collections of pedigrees embodying only the claims of various nobles to high descent. They are an indispensable supplement to the Annals and, in their earlier strata, to the study of the pre-Christian traditions and legends such as are collected in the *Lebor Gabála*. The extinction of certain lines, their territorial replacement by other lines, gives knowledge of the local currents of history. Innumerable entries in the Annals are mere obscure items until they are interpreted by the help of the Genealogies. The Genealogies are moreover a lexicographical and philological mine that has never been methodically explored. In date of compilation they go back to the seventh and eighth centuries. Dr. Cox possesses the great Book of Genealogies compiled in the seventeenth century by

Dubhaltach Mac Fir Bhisigh, containing many pedigrees of the Anglo-Norman and Welsh settlers in addition to all the principal Old Irish families, and a long introduction full of invaluable material from older manuscripts now lost.

IV.—An unmeasured quantity of medieval poetry concerned with contemporary persons and affairs.

V. The Laws.—There are still many ancient Irish lawtracts that have not been published. The five published volumes of the Ancient Laws of Ireland are so defective in editing and translation that one cannot well say whether they lead more to knowledge or to error. One of the greatest living authorities on early Indo-European institutions recently avowed to a friend of mine that he found himself so bewildered and repelled by these volumes as to be forced to abandon the notion of making use of them. Yet I venture to say that our ancient laws belong not less to the history of Europe than to the history of Ireland.

VI. Ecclesiastical History.—Though much has been written and rewritten on this subject, there has been no thorough exploration of material, and, as in the case of our secular history, the selective method usually followed is defective and unconvincing.

I plead for the institution of a Library of the Monumenta Hiberniae, in the form of a continuous series of uniform volumes, to be published under the direction of a corporate body of competent scholars, with a suitable endowment to be administered under the terms of a permanent definite trust. At the head of such a collection of material would naturally stand the first historical documents known to have been written in Ireland, namely, the Epistle and the Confession of Saint Patrick; for, among his other glories, Saint Patrick has the distinction of being the first of our writers and the first writer of Irish history.

Eoin Mac Neill.

COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE

No. I.—BY REV. PROFESSOR PAUL WALSH, M.A.

INTEREST in the proposal made in Dr. MacNeill's paper is apt to be universal among Irishmen the world over; but with its realization no section will be more gratified than the small body in this country and abroad who, in years gone by, have helped to contribute to knowledge of the past of the nation. Without in any way belittling the labours of earlier workers, it may be said that a new era in the study of Irish antiquity set in with the generation of O'Curry, O'Donovan and Reeves. Since their time their disciples have sought to bring to light the monuments of Ireland, profane and religious. They were, in the great majority of cases, poor men who had to rely on outside assistance in order to present their work to the public. But since the War private enterprise in scholarship has become, one may say, impossible. The financial responsibility involved in the production of medieval Irish or Latin texts is now immense. Hence if Dr. MacNeill's scheme for the institution of a series of *Monumenta Hiberniae* comes into being, no one will have greater cause for satisfaction than the students of the present day and those that are to come after them.

An enterprise such as that which has been outlined would have to be carried through by a permanent body provided with ample financial means. Every care, however, would require to be taken at the outset so that bungling or inefficiency would not ensue. We all know the contempt that has sometimes been thrown on what is called "official scholarship." There may not be anyone now alive who had any connection with the Brehon Law Commission, but at all events it is no breach of charity to say that the published *Laws of Ireland* is a work of very great imperfection. It were almost better, as said above, if these tracts had not yet appeared in print. Such a failure, and such a waste of public money, must be made impossible in the future.

The work to be taken in hand is sufficiently formidable. No one can tell when the field of labour will be exhausted, and it is certain many and capable hands will be required for the harvesting. The *Lebor Gabala* alone would probably provide work for half a dozen for several years. The great *Onomasticon* of Fr. Edmund Hogan, S.J., occupied one man for ten years; it would require a like period for another to revise and complete it. No Celtic language presents such a vast variety of personal names as Irish. Their number must run to thousands, yet no comprehensive investigation or collection covering all periods has been made. In the domain of religious literature not much has been added to the pieces published by Atkinson in 1887. Like the Welsh, the Irish borrowed extensively from Latin sources in this department, and an examination of certain of our manuscripts gives an idea of the material which appealed to pious readers in Ireland in past ages. Augustine Magraidin, canon

of Saints' Island in Lough Ree, who died in 1405, translated a Life of St. John the Evangelist; it lies unpublished in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*. The same codex has a large amount of analogous matter indicated in the briefest form in Professor Gwynn's catalogue of the manuscript. The Lives of the Irish Saints, and various anecdotes relating to them, have not all been printed. Besides, much that has appeared should be made more accessible. Take, for example, Whitley Stokes's Three Middle Irish Homilies on the lives of Saints Patrick, Brigit and Columba, "one hundred copies privately printed," Calcutta, 1877. One could say almost with truth that these pieces might as well still be lying in manuscript, as far as students are concerned. For knowledge of the structure of our ancient calendar the work styled the Martyrology of Tallaght is most essential; we possess of it a most imperfect edition.

When engaged on a tract on the history of the MacSweeneys I, some time ago, came across a collection of texts entitled a *leabhar diadhachta*, "a book of piety," put together at the behest of an O'Malley princess, married in Tirchonaill, who died about 1522. It contains a version of the Finding of the True Cross quite independent of that already published from the *Lebor Brec;* Lives of Saint Columcille, Saint Margaret and Saint Catherine; the Vision of Saint Paul; a saga on the battle of Cul Dremne; a Passion of Christ; and various moral pieces and treatises; altogether a most instructive group of religious writings. In the absence of many such books which must have perished, this well deserves reproduction in printed form. And one might go on, almost at will, indicating the documents which await treatment, translation, and analysis at the hands of future workers.

Nobody has yet discussed the problems arising out of the extensive genealogies of the Irish Saints which have come down to us. The principal reason for this is the absence of a printed collection of them. The highest importance is accorded them in our ancient manuscripts. Readers will have noticed in the annal entries that ecclesiastics and men of learning generally get the leading mention. Something similar is to be observed in the genealogical treatises to which Dr. MacNeill so properly draws attention. In the sections dealing with the various kindreds nothing is more common than the remark *it iat a naoim*," these are their saints." Ireland was the *insula sanctorum*, not all saints, it is true, in the strict liturgical sense, but yet men and women whose memory was venerated and whose piety was commemorated by tradition. The recorded number of saints is so great, and their period falls within so short a space of time, that I fancy that, in dealing with them, we are in large measure dealing with the normal clergy of the country. The names handed down in this way were remembered with singular pride by the ruling and subject populations to which they belonged by blood, and the compilers of the genealogical treatises were most careful to notice them.

The earliest collection which traces them back from son to father is found in that great manuscript of Leinster origin, now in Oxford, Rawlinson B 502, dating from the twelfth century. The Book of Leinster is more complete in a similar section. Then we have the great fourteenth century codices, the Lebor Brec, the Book of Ballymote, and the Book of Lecan. Again, Michael O'Clery has much matter of this kind—amid a crowd of engrossing subjects—in his book of pedigrees. The peculiar thing about this work is that it was not projected as a "work" at all, in the sense in which that term is to be applied to the Annals of the Four Masters, but was merely intended as a note-book or help whereby the annal statements might be checked. Anyhow, bearing on the present subject it has scores of important passages. Lastly, Dubhaltach Mac Firbhisigh gives a *naoimh-sheanchus*, a history of saints which we may take as the last word in Irish tradition on the holy departed. All this huge body of material has lain practically untouched to this day. Dr. Plummer has drawn attention to portions of it, but no thorough study of it has been attempted, perhaps not even thought of. These records, often of very great antiquity, are practically unknown. Here then is a branch of learning not yet approached by students, of the highest interest and importance, and illustrating the earliest chapters of Christian history in this island.

It is to be hoped that in the near future a school of editors will develop here whose methods will be similar to those often followed at the present time in Wales. The single efforts of Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans have produced a series of texts from ancient records, at once of the highest reliability and indispensable for the study of early Welsh literature. Younger men have profited by this example. In Ireland editors are often more concerned with what readings ought to be than with what they actually are. They like to make corrections, and they sometimes do so silently. They are not always right, however. The first essential in all study based on old manuscripts is to find out what the manuscripts have to say for themselves.

PAUL WALSH.

No. II.—BY DANIEL A. BINCHY, M.A., PH.D.

ALMOST a century ago, in 1826, appeared the first volume of that epoch-making work of German scholarship, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Its appearance marks a turning point in the study of medieval history. For the first time medieval texts were edited with all the care and precision which had hitherto been reserved for the classics. In the meantime many other European countries—England, France, Austria, Poland, Denmark and Hungary among their number—have undertaken similar publications. Surely it is high time for Ireland to do likewise. Everyone who is engaged in research work connected with Irish history will heartily welcome Dr. MacNeill's proposal, which, if it should

materialise, may well mark the beginning of a more scientific and intensive study of this subject. It would further be instrumental in systematising and co-ordinating the work of research, at present carried on under conditions which are little short of chaotic, and in securing the services of many scholars whose assistance is sorely needed.

The importance of publishing all the sources in the Irish language is not likely to be denied. I should like to add, however, that the Latin texts which the Irish writers of the Middle Ages have bequeathed us are equally worthy of publication. If, as has been alleged more than once, the extent of a nation's significance in any given period of history is to be measured by its contribution to the common international culture of that period, then assuredly Ireland was a far more significant land in the eight and ninth than in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And the most concrete proofs of her contribution to the culture of medieval Europe are the Latin works of Irish scholars, particularly of those illustrious *peregrini* whose industry and learning spread the fame of their motherland throughout the whole of western Europe.

Many of these works are still to be found among the unedited manuscripts of various continental libraries. It would be obviously out of the question for me to attempt anything like a detailed list of these, and I content myself with one or two examples selected at random. One of the members of the celebrated Irish colony at Laon in the ninth century was a certain Dunchad, who subsequently became a monk in Rheims. Like his more illustrious contemporary, Johannes Scottus, Dunchad is the author of a commentary on Martianus Capella's treatise *Satyra de nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, which the Irish may claim to have introduced to continental scholars of this period. This commentary, which reveals a considerable knowledge of Latin and even of Greek sources, and which was extensively drawn upon by Dunchad's own pupil, Remigius of Auxerre, in his commentary on the same work, has not yet found an editor.[1]

The Latin scholars of medieval Ireland have devoted much attention to the study of grammar, (meaning thereby grammar in the Roman sense as the first of the seven *artes liberales*) : it occupied a prominent place in their school curriculum even during the period when grammatical studies were utterly neglected on the continent. Proof of this is supplied by the survival of a set of notes on the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Vergil, attributed by some to Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba, but at all events of undoubted Irish origin. These notes are still unpublished.[2] Passing over the more celebrated Irish grammarians of the Carolingian period (whose works are in most cases sadly in need of re-editing), I come to certain anonymous grammatical treatises the

[1] MSS. British Museum, King's Libr., 15. A. xxxiii (saec. IX) ; Paris, Bib. Nat., 12960, ff. 25-30 (saec. X.).

[2] There are many MSS. of which the earliest and most important are Codd. Bernen. 167 (with Irish glosses) and 172.

Irish origin of which could, I am convinced, be established by a critical edition and by comparison with other works known to have been written by Irishmen. I mention as a single example a commentary on the *Ars minor* of Donatus now in the Ambrosian library of Milan,[1] which from the brief description we have of its contents and the authorities used in it, would seem to have been written by one of our *peregrini* : the popularity which Donatus enjoyed among the latter, as evidenced by several commentaries, lends additional weight to this supposition.

Turning to Germany (a country of which I can write with more authority), we find an abundance of original sources still unpublished. Take the Irish Benedictine monasteries in South Germany and Austria during the later Middle Ages, the so-called *Schottenklöster*, which Innocent III in 1213 constituted a separate Congregation under the rule of the abbot of St. James of Ratisbon. The archives of these monasteries have not been preserved intact, but a search through various neighbouring libraries will bring to light many of the original documents formerly preserved in the particular monastery. By means of a search of this kind I was able to collect most of the documents relating to the abbey of St. James and the priory of Weih Sankt Peter in Ratisbon down to the period of their usurpation by the Scotch (1518). With the exception of the Vienna abbey, the other Irish monasteries—Würzburg, Nuremberg, Constance, Eichstätt, Erfurt, Memmingen, and Kelheim—have not been studied from the original sources. The collection and publication of these records would be of particular value, not only as an important contribution to our knowledge of the *peregrini* of the later Middle Ages, but also because they will doubtless provide interesting information of the close relations existing between the latter and the mother country. From letters preserved in the register of Pope Innocent IV we find that the abbey of St. James numbered among its dependencies certain priories in Ireland ; and at a later date the celebrated monastery of Rossailithir (the modern Rosscarbery), which is supposed to have been founded in the sixth century by St. Fachtna, came under the control of the abbots of Würzburg. In connection with these monasteries the apocryphal chronicle which treats of their foundation in the days of Charlemagne, and which builds up a host of fantastic legends around the personality of their founder (St. Marianus, a member of the MacRobartaigh family of Donegal), is well worthy of publication. It is not, as Dom Gougaud[2] seems to believe, of German origin, but was written in the thirteenth century by a member of the community of St. James. Only a fragment of this chronicle has been edited ; the remainder, which is chiefly of Irish interest, has not yet seen the light.

Only texts of original sources are published in the *Monumenta Germaniae*, but I should be glad to see the directorate of our Irish *Monumenta* empowered to finance and publish all research work bearing upon the general question of Ireland's contribution to the culture of the Middle

[1] L. 22 (saec. X.).

[2] *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity*, Introduction p. XII.

Ages. Under this heading would fall, for example, a detailed account of the part played by Irish scholars in the Carolingian Renaissance. Again, a standard work on the *scriptura Scottica* would be welcomed by palaeographists all over Europe : in a paper read some years ago (1918) before the Munich Academy, Professor Paul Lehmann urged the need of a work of this kind which would treat of the origin of the Irish book script, the differences between it and the Anglo-Saxon hand, the rise of cursive writing among the Irish, the influence of the script upon the various " national " hands of Europe as well as on the Caroline minuscules which succeeded them. Equally worthy of a careful study is the Latin used by the medieval Irish scholar. A most important work has yet to be written by a scholar versed both in Latin and Celtic philology upon the question : how far have medieval Irish and medieval Latin mutually influenced each other ? This will doubtless also furnish an incidental explanation of the idiosyncracies of the Irish scribe when writing Latin : his use of *a* for *o* (*e.g.*, *manasterium*, *catalagus*), his uncertain treatment of *e* (*midius*, *Pilagius*, *aevangelium*), his inability to decide between single and double *s* (*pressul*, *pasio*), his tendency to double *u* and to insert *u* after *g* (*manuus*, *finguere*), his unfamiliarity with the letter *z* (*Steno* for *Zeno*, *Zephanus* for *Stephanus*). Nor should we overlook the significance of the isolated Graecisms scattered through the works of almost every Irish scholar : and here I prefer to conclude rather than be obliged to deal with the thorny subject of the knowledge of Greek in Ireland during the Middle Ages. D. A. BINCHY.

No. III.—BY FR. BRENDAN JENNINGS, O.F.M., B.D.

DR. MACNEILL'S appeal will meet with the blessing of every student of Irish history. May we dare even to hope that his ideals will be realised ? Certainly, until they are, Irish history will never be written, and the Irish race will remain ignorant of its past. There is scarcely a single question in our history that has been so studied as to satisfy us that we have now the whole truth, carefully and scientifically searched out, and expounded with insight and skill. There are numberless questions that have been scarcely touched upon, and of which even the best informed must confess their want of knowledge. Our scientifically trained workers are increasing in numbers ; they are zealous and disinterested, content for the most part with the consciousness that they are doing something for Ireland. But they are as workers whose hands are tied and whose feet are heavily weighted. They must seek out their knowledge with great sacrifice of time, often at great personal expense, and more often than not, with no hope whatever of publication. In Ireland to-day, only a wealthy man could afford to risk the loss inevitable upon a strictly scientific historical publication of any size.

The documents we imperatively need are to be found in almost all the great archives of Europe. Every searcher can tell of exciting finds

in every country he has worked in, and every worker has the same regret —that there is so much to do and so little done. It has been my own privilege to have worked for many months in Belgium, principally in the Royal Library and the State Archives in Brussels. The Irish treasures in the Royal Library are for the most part well known, and some of them have been published. Some, most important as they are, still await the light of day. Others need re-publication. In this respect, several of these documents published in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense* afford an example of the methods of fifty years ago, when unskilled copyists were employed, and their work not carefully revised. Inaccuracies abound.

In the State Archives at Brussels certain volumes and bundles contain the story of a practically unknown Ireland. Some enable us to trace the fortunes of those thousands of Irishmen who, from the end of the sixteenth century, left these shores to fight the battles of Spain in the Low Countries. Others introduce us to learned Irish ecclesiastics, or to our impecunious students studying in Louvain or in some one of the small Irish seminaries in Belgium,—Antwerp, Tournai or Douay. So far, nothing of all this has been published with the exception of a few stray fragments here and there. Until it is, I venture to suggest that we shall not wholly understand, among other things, much of what took place in Ireland during the 1641 period. Every event of importance in Ireland had its repercussion among the O'Neills and the O'Donnells and the Prestons and others in Belgium, and likewise the jealousies and intrigues begun among these military men in Belgium, later wrought their disastrous effects here at home.

Ireland sent her missionaries to Belgium and christianised much of the country. At least we claim to have done so, and in some cases our claims are not disputed. Hugh Ward and Colgan wrote well on this subject in their day, and left us invaluable material. But three centuries have passed since then, and we cannot profess to feel satisfied with all their findings. At least, it is time that their work were reviewed. We are proud, when we visit the cathedral at Malines, to think that this noble monument was raised over a saint of our race ; but we are disturbed, nevertheless, by a feeling of uneasiness about the validity of our claim. Was St. Rombaut really an Irishman ? Perhaps some readers may have remarked that his name was omitted from the list of Irish saints, apostles of Belgium, mentioned by Cardinal Mercier in his letter to Cardinal Logue in October 1920. The omission was not due to an oversight. The able and courteous archivist of the arch-diocese of Malines, who supplied the historical information contained in the letter, believes he has demolished the proofs so elaborately built up by Fr. Hugh Ward, and maintains that the saint was not Irish. This is but one example. St Dympna, virgin and martyr, may readily be pointed to as another. Has Ireland nothing to reply ? There are few subjects more interesting, and more worthy of serious study, than Ireland's relations with Belgium, but the task will be long and laborious. If the

student only knew that, when his work was finished, it would not rest upon his hands as so much dead fruit, his years of toil would pass lightly over him, and he would be only too glad to submit his findings to the severest tests of modern historical methods.

Perhaps I may be allowed to touch upon another example of the same kind. The Franciscans have been in Ireland now some seven hundred years. As was inevitable, and as has been the case with every other of the great Religious Orders, they have played some part in the history of the country. Moreover, they are the fortunate possessors of a certain number of valuable manuscripts. Their library at Merchants Quay is well known to students, and many of the treasures in it have been published. Dr. MacNeill himself is among the brilliant scholars who have done much of the very best work on the Irish manuscripts of the library. But even in that department much remains to be done, and though, unfortunately, I am not competent to speak of this branch of study, I do not feel that it would be too venturesome to assert that the work would be of lasting value. Of the other manuscripts, the most important were reported upon some years ago by order of the British Government ; but among them are many that should be published at greater length or even in full, if the student is to be really benefited. The brief details of the report often give no idea of the real value of the documents. For the study of the 1641 period they are of the greatest importance.

There are, again, many other manuscripts in the library which refer to the history of the Irish Franciscan houses abroad, in Rome, Louvain, Paris, Prague, Vielun in Poland, Boulay in Lorraine and Capranica. Most of these manuscripts are originals, but the collection is being enriched by copies made in archives abroad, in the hope that some day, when everything has been gathered in, all may be published. Perhaps some readers may be surprised at the list of Irish Franciscan houses on the Continent which I have mentioned. Each of them was a centre of Irish influence, and each of them has had its influence, great or small, upon Ireland. They have produced their distinguished ecclesiastics, their learned professors and writers, their ardent patriots, and for centuries they have sent back to Ireland men who have influenced to a large extent the daily lives of our people. On the other hand, there is evidence of how they gave of their learning to their neighbours abroad, and made the name of Ireland ever more respected. The history of these houses has yet to be written ; the documents are yet to be published. They afford just a small example of what remains to be done.

No. IV.—BY DOM LOUIS GOUGAUD, O.S.B.

La gloire posthume de Saint Patrice est un phenomène que je crois unique dans l'histoire. Aucun autre pays n' a voué à un héros national un culte pareil—aussi traditionnel, aussi général, aussi intense, aussi religieux. C'est donc une idée qui recueillera, sans aucun doute, beaucoup

d'adhérents que celle que lance, dans l'article qui précède, le Professeur Eoin MacNeill au sujet de la commémoration du quinzième centenaire de Saint Patrice en 1932.

Les pages dans lesquelles l'auteur esquisse à grands traits les aspects variés de la gloire posthume du saint seront un correctif salutaire à certaines publications dont il a été l'objet et dans lesquelles domine l'esprit de système, notamment au livre de S. Czarnowski, *Le culte des héros et ses conditions sociales : Saint Patrick, héros national de l'Irlande* (Paris, 1920), ouvrage qui ne mérite guère l'accueil qui lui a été fait à l'étranger.

Saint Patrice n'a eu d'autre but que d'apporter la foi chrétienne à l'Irlande. Travailler à l'evangélisation et à la sanctification du pays, tel fut son unique objectif. Ce but a été atteint au delà de toute attente. Dès le XI^e^ siècle l'Irlande avait reçu le titre mérité d'*Ile des Saints*. Deux siècles après la mort de Saint Patrice elle devint, en outre, le pays d'Europe où la culture intellectuelle était le plus en honneur. Ce résultat n'avait pas été prévu par le saint apôtre ; mais Saint Benoît, non plus, dont la Règle ne contient rien sur les études, en dehors des lectures liturgiques ou de lectures d'édification, ne pouvait prévoir que l'ordre par lui fondé deviendrait, dès le moyen âge, mais surtout aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles, une pepinière d'érudits. Les nations, comme les ordres religieux, sont ce que Dieu les fait, en les façonnant, au cours des âges, de mille manières providientielles.

Mais puisque l'Irlande a été, dans le haut moyen âge, un brilliant foyer de culture intellectuelle, tout en étant une terre de saints, il semble que ce soit une excellente idée que de songer à célébrer la commémoration de 1932 en élevant, en l'honneur de Saint Patrice, un monument historique, littéraire et artistique, qui contribuerait à faire mieux connaître les richesses de l'ancien patrimoine intellectuel de l'Irlande, patrimoine sur lequel vit encore l'Irlande moderne et auquel les nations de l'Europe occidentale ont beaucoup emprunté.

Il semblerait souhaitable que l'ont fît entrer dans ces *Monumenta Hiberniae*, dont le Professeur MacNeill esquisse le plan, un catalogue aussi exact que possible des manuscrits écrits, au moyen âge, par les scribes irlandais soit en Irlande soit sur le continent, et qui sont dispersés dans tant de bibliothèques publiques européennes. M'occupant uniquement de ceux de ces manuscrits dont il a été publié des fac-similés, j'ai dressé dernièrement un répertoire qui, bien qu'incomplet, suffit à faire comprendre l'intérêt que présenterait un tel catalogue pour les paléographes, pour les historiens de la culture des lettres, comme aussi pour ceux qui cherchent à determiner la part propre de l'Irlande dans le développement des motifs décoratifs que présentent beaucoup d'anciens manuscrits irlandais.[1]

Mais pourquoi ne pas entreprendre également un inventaire métho-

[1] Voir *Revue Celtique*, XXXIV, 1913, p. 14–37 ; XXXV, 1914, p. 415–430 ; XXXVIII, 1920, p. 1–14.

dique de toutes les anciennes richesses artistiques de l'Irlande ancienne ? Des catalogues comme ceux que Mr. Henry S. Crawford a déjà publiés dans le *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* et ailleurs rendraient les plus grands services.

Les hommes qualifiés pour mener à bien de telles entreprises ne manquent pas. Ce qui fait défaut, comme le remarque le Professeur MacNeill, ce sont les ressources financières. L'admirable *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature* du Dr. R. I. Best (Dublin, 1913) serait un modèle à proposer à tous ceux qui se sentiraient aptes à répondre à l'appel qui vient d'être lancé, et aussi un spécimen du beau travail à signaler à tous ceux qui auraient le moyen d'encourager financièrement les travailleurs.

Il n'est pas douteux, d'ailleurs, qu' un bon nombre de savants étrangers, celtistes ou autres, seraient heureux d'offrir leur collaboration, si l'on croit leur concours nécessaire, en temoignage d'amitié pour l'Irlande et en hommage à Saint Patrice. L. GOUGAUD, O.S.B.

No. V.—BY PROFESSOR THOMAS F. O'RAHILLY, M.A.

IN words which I heartly endorse, Dr. MacNeill calls attention to the great disadvantage under which Irish studies labour, namely, the lack of facilities for publication. We have a number of "capable students and scholars" who are willing to devote all their spare time to Irish research-work; but this work can bear no fruit unless it is published, and in most cases publication is impossible without a monetary loss which the workers cannot afford. These "students and scholars" are prepared to do difficult work of national importance, and to do it with little or no reward, a rare thing in these days of commercialized patriotism; but they can hardly be expected voluntarily to reduce themselves to beggary by publishing at their own expense work for which, owing to the lack of a sufficient public educated to appreciate things Irish, there is at present little demand.

Dr. MacNeill's suggestion that the coming centenary of St. Patrick's mission to Ireland should be celebrated by the institution of a series of *Monumenta Hiberniae* is from many points of view an admirable one, and I sincerely hope it will be carried into effect. But, while I am in full sympathy with the project as he outlines it, it may not be amiss to point out that at best it will be only a partial remedy for the evil of which he complains. As I shall have occasion to mention again further on, a great deal of valuable work which has been done and is awaiting publication, or which remains to be done, would necessarily be of a kind which would not fit into the "continuous series of uniform volumes" of texts to which Dr. MacNeill looks forward.

The inedited historical documents to which Dr. MacNeill alludes are, with the exception of some of those bearing on ecclesiastical history, all in Irish. Indeed it may justly be claimed that, among the vast

amount of inedited material in Irish MSS., there is little that will not throw light on some period of Irish history, whether on its social, religious or political sides. This is true of our seventeenth and eighteenth century literature no less than of that of an earlier date. The State Papers preserved by the English Government in Ireland have perished at the hands of unpatriotic vandals, and with them has been lost an amount of invaluable and unexplored material for Irish history. We still possess the inedited documents of our Irish MSS., "the State Papers of the Irish people," as they have aptly been termed; and, unless our national degeneration is complete, it should not require much argument to make us realize that we have a duty to discharge with regard to them.

There is urgent need, then, of the publication of Irish historical documents, such as those of which Dr. MacNeill speaks. They form part of our national literature, which, with the Irish language in which that literature is written, constitutes our most precious national heritage. But the publication of documents is not the only need. If Irish texts are to be edited properly a great deal of collateral work must be done. Side by side with editions of texts, and as a necessary adjunct to them, we need the preparation and publication of linguistic and literary studies in all periods of the language, dictionaries, grammars, catalogues of MS. collections, dialect surveys, folklore, and so on. Such work is absolutely indispensable, but naturally it does not fall within the scope of the projected *Monumenta Hiberniae*.

At present the only outlet that Ireland affords for publishing research work in Irish language and literature is *Eriu*, the admirable journal of the School of Irish Learning, which appears every few years. (We can hardly take credit to ourselves for the existence of the Irish Texts Society in London, or for the two continental journals devoted to Celtic philology). It is, I suppose, one of the ironies of fate that under a native Government we are worse off in this respect than ever before. The School of Irish Learning, which at one time received an annual grant from the British Government, has this year, owing to financial difficulties, had to close its doors and become merged in the Royal Irish Academy. The late British Government, though naturally interested mainly in their own country, did not quite overlook Ireland in their fine sets of publications, such as the Rolls Series and the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. They gave us, for instance, the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, the *Annals of Ulster*, the *Annals of Loch Cé*, the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*. And, with all their editorial shortcomings, it is not amiss to recall that the six volumes of the *Ancient Laws of Ireland* were at least paid for and published by a foreign government. The same Government some years ago published a catalogue of part of the important collection of historical MSS. preserved in the Franciscan Library, Merchants' Quay; who will venture to predict when we are likely to see the work completed? So far as the public is aware, no steps have been taken, or even contemplated, by our own Government with a view to continuing these beneficent activities of their English predecessors.

If we turn to our Universities, the outlook is not more hopeful. In the neighbouring island the universities—one need go no farther than Manchester or Wales—regard it as part of their duty to undertake the publication of works of research ; but of our Irish universities in this respect the less said, the better. Again, other countries, but not our own, have publication funds by help from which authors are enabled to produce scholarly works which otherwise could not be expected to pay their way. By means of such a fund in Scotland, a Glasgow scholar was able some months ago to publish a sumptuous edition of a Middle-Irish text. Wales, too, has its special fund, from which grants are given in aid of the publication of works of research dealing with the language and history of Wales. If such a fund existed in Ireland, it would in a few years work wonders in promoting Irish scholarship, and at an average annual cost which would be less than that of filling a minor job in some Government department or of publishing the details of some bickerings between members of the Dáil.

To put the matter bluntly, the present condition of Irish studies is a disgrace to Ireland ; and not the least depressing feature is the general apathy and ignorance in their regard which prevails even in quarters where sympathy and appreciation might be expected. In national research, as a whole, we are fifty years behind other civilized countries ; and for no small part of whatever progress has been achieved we have been beholden to foreign scholars. In whatever way we may have salved our consciences in the past, we can no longer lay the blame of our remissness on the shoulders of our neighbours ; the " alien government " is gone. As things are, Irish research-work is mostly a waste of time and effort ; and it would be cruel to advise any young student, however promising, to devote himself seriously to it. One should rather remind such a student of the *ollamh* who three hundred years ago decided to abandon a profession which nobody seemed to value and to take to comb-making instead ; or one should quote to him what another learned man wrote some generations later : *Mo cheárd ó mheath le malairt dlí i nEirinn, Mo chrá go rach gan stad le brívéireacht !* For in some ways Ireland has not changed very much since then.

To conclude on a more hopeful note, Dr. MacNeill's article makes refreshing reading ; and even if it should do no more than make people realize that there is need to do something to remedy our backwardness in national research, it will have done a service to the country.

THOMAS F. O'RAHILLY.

Until such time as a Board of Directors has been constituted, the Editor of " Studies " will be pleased to receive and answer all communications in connection with the proposed " Monumenta Hiberniae." Address: 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.

THE LANGUAGE CAMPAIGNS IN ALSACE-LORRAINE

BY PROFESSOR T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.

FOR the second time since 1789, a language revolution on a large scale is being attempted by the French State on its Middle Eastern front. The religious, social, racial, economic and geographical factors in this great enterprise, all converging on the schools of the region affected, are very special in character, and add markedly to its practical importance in European and in Irish eyes. They are almost indispensable conditions of any consideration of its processes and of any forecast of its fortunes. Only the briefest enumeration of these elements will be essayed here, before the scholastic and cultural issues of the two language campaigns in Alsace-Lorraine are presented.

The recovered region is about 6,000 square miles in extent, and has a population of 1,700,000, which, markedly unlike that of France, increases at the rate of 3 per 100 per year. The people are 75 per cent. Catholic, 20 per cent. Lutheran ; and most of the residue are Jews. They are almost evenly divided between the towns and the countryside, and between the manufacture of textiles and the production of crops. In both they have shown excellent results in several lines. The geographical position of the country between the Rhine and the Vosges, between Switzerland and the Palatinate, adds the stimulus of economic contact with four intensely progressive and productive regions. Education, both cultural and professional, is therefore of marked importance. The effects of the French policy in Alsace-Lorraine, down to 1870, on practical efficiency in industrial arts, led to frequent

expressions of anxiety from the captains of industry. They asserted that each new entry of young craftsmen, coming from the Gallicised schools of Alsace, showed progressive decline in the intelligence and aptitude which had hitherto made the people of the region of the Ill in many respects leaders in Europe.

The relations of the two great nations which meet in Alsace-Lorraine present to us in Ireland many points of definite interest, not archaeological alone, but economic, linguistic, cultural. The names of the Rhine and the Ill are certainly Celtic; and at the opening of history the Celt held all these lands. The incursion of Ariovistus, well known to readers of Caesar, did not last ten years; but early in the Roman period the Alamanni, enduring name indeed, crossed the Rhine into Southern Alsace, while other Germanic tribes pushed their way into the northern area. The Tribocci settled between Brumath and Strassburg; the Nemetes along the Rhine at Spires; the Vangiones around Worms. The Roman names for all these famous centres were drawn from Celtic usage. When the Empire quitted the North, the Franks came in from Germany and drove the Alamanni further south, so that by 500 A.D. the language of all Alsace was thoroughly Teuton.

So it is to-day, save in some half-dozen mountain valleys of the Vosges, ranged northwards from Belfort to Zabern, and all watered by tributaries of the true river of Alsace, the Ill. The racial frontier has for fifteen centuries been stabilised along the ridge of the Vosges, coming down in Lorraine to the lowlands lying between Saarburg and Luxemburg. The tribal areas of Alsace still persist, manifest in the seven or eight fairly distinct Teutonic dialects which make up Alsatian speech. Eighty-nine per cent. of the population of Alsace-Lorraine speak to-day, as long before the days of Karl the Great, a German that is closely akin to the language spoken in Baden, with the historic division into High and Middle

The Language Question in Alsace-Lorraine.
Miles: 0 10 25 50
Arlon
Luxemburg
R. Moselle
Trier
Saarburg
Rhenish Palatinate
R. Saar
Saarlouis
Saarbruck
Bolchen
Lorraine
Saarunion
Sulz
Worth
Hagenau
Saarburg
Zabern
Brumath
R. Zorn
Bischweiler
Weissemburg
R. Rhine
Landau
Spires
Worms
Mainz
The German
Baden
Baden
Strassburg
Kehl
Rastatt
Carlsruhe
Durlach
Rastatt
Republic
Nancy
Toul
Lunéville
Blamont
R. Meurthe
R. Moselle
R. Breusch
Saales
Alsace
R. Ill
St. Dié
Schlettstadt
Markirch
Épinal
La Poutroye
Brisach
Colmar
R. Thur
Mulhausen
The French Republic
Lure
Belfort
Montreux
Vesoul
R. Oignon
Montbéliard
Courtavon
Basle
R. Rhine
Switzerland
Franco-German Frontier: 1871 to 1918
since 1919
Languages in Alsace-Lorraine:
German
Mixed
French
Boundary line between:
(1) Alsace and Lorraine
(2) High and Middle German

German, always found in Teuton lands, fully characterising its linguistic geography. The Alsatian writers, who in the sixteenth century were so prominent in High German literature, never sought to evolve a particularist literature for their own dialect; they always wrote standard German. To-day they find full utterance in an effective newspaper press, all in German. This close accord of the Alsatian dialect with literary German creates a very different linguistic situation from that which has for centuries obtained in, say, Provence and Wallonia. It will be a powerful force in the great language campaign which started anew in the winter of 1918-1919.

Students of language policy in Ireland will find abundant matter of comparison between the situation in Alsace during the past four centuries and that in our own country since the fresh language offensive started under Henry VIII. The official utterances in the two campaigns present startling undesigned coincidences. Quite apart from the vital issue as to national rights, the fortunes of the revived and intensified policy of France in Alsace-Lorraine, and of the German language policy, 1871-1918, in the region of Metz, will be found to have many plain lessons for those who are concerned to restore to Ireland the one true vernacular of the Irish people. A sound policy of restoration must be based on a very careful survey of what is feasible, in schools and out of them, at the formative age.

For twelve centuries after the racial settlement of Alsace-Lorraine no language issue was mooted. The middle of the seventeenth century, as is well known to students of the Confederate Wars in Ireland, brought our own country into close contact with the sovereign of Lorraine, and this gives a special interest to the declaration at that period of Duke Francis II., who declared to his German-speaking subjects, one-third of the whole population, his assurance of favour for their language: "Notre intention est que la langue allemande soit entretenue

voire cultivée, le mieux qu'il se pourra, en faveur de nos sujets allemands." The first danger signal came a century later, when in 1748 Stanislaus, last Duke of Lorraine, ordered all legal documents and proceedings to be set out in French exclusively, even in German-speaking areas, and based his action on the wide and subversive principle that " l'uniformité d'idiome est nécessaire entre les sujets d'une meme souveraineté."

The French Revolutionary Government was the first to develop this rule of policy by definite action in the schools of Alsace-Lorraine, and the language campaign so begun was maintained with vigour, if not with much of radical result, from 1792 to 1870. This first effort was frankly defined by the Revolutionary Convention as being one " pour franciser les parties allemandes de la République " ; and, characteristically enough, their complaint was formulated as being against the presence of " une langue étrangère, qui s'oppose aux progrés de la philosophie." The Paris Government proceeded to set up in every locality a free school of French, to counteract the influence of the German parish schools, long time well organised and flourishing. The plan was never abandoned from the Restoration to the fall of the Second Empire ; but as in all the eighty years of effort the financial aid had to come mainly from the districts themselves, it was naturally not adequate. French officials showed themselves exceptionally active under Napoleon III., and, as is the official custom, threw the blame of ill-success on the Orléans period, 1830-1846, " la plus stérile qu'eut à traverser l'œuvre de propagation du français." They were not more successful themselves, though they went so far as to forbid all use of the German language in the schools, and took the extreme policy of compelling the teachers to use the pure direct method : " au français par le français." It was only in February, 1870, six months before the war, that the vigorous protests of the German parents in that immemorially German-speaking land

moved the Imperial Education Council to make a concession in the primary curriculum. This permitted the children to be taught to read German *after* they had fully learned to read French. It is its own best commentary.

Yet not all French officials held that this was the most effective route to their goal. Creutzer and Maggiolo in Lorraine, and several of the directors of the University of Strassburg, declared themselves as against the extreme direct method, and in favour of proceeding "from the known to the unknown." Instead of expelling German from the earlier stages of school-work, they argued in favour of utilising it, so as to lead the children through *and out of* German into French; and they urged that German should be regarded educationally "comme un moyen naturellement offert" to the propagandist. Bilingual lower classes were to lead to monolingual advanced classes, and the monolingual classes were to be French. There was no difference as to the end in view: even so absolute a French partisan as Cazeaux wrote in favour of it, "convaincu que la langue française peut devenir celle d'Alsace sans s'élever sur les ruines de l'allemande." With Lavigerie, Phillipi, Dupont des Loges, the advocates of this mitigated policy urged on the French Ministry of Instruction that the current system would result in the people of Alsace, industrially prominent in France, situated in a great basin of international commerce, being utterly miseducated. They would be unable to speak German or French, and still less could they write correctly in either language. A remonstrance dated as early as 1854 declared that the mass of the people had now no inclination to read at all, either in their mother-language, German, or in French. Both the Catholic bishops and clergy, conversant with the needs of the great majority of the people, and the Lutheran pastors, for their one-fifth of it, found that the school system, while ostensibly giving "facilities" for religious education, tended to produce "des enfants ne sachant ni français ni allemand, et ainsi ne possédant ni

éducation morale et religieuse, ni éducation intellectuelle." Even this severe judgment, published in 1862, and reinforcing the conclusion of 1854 that "le coeur du peuple contractera une certaine insensibilité morale," did not produce any substantial alteration in the official methods for school-work, while the mitigated policy of the minority of State functionaries never got any real chance to develop.

Thus ended the first attempt, 1792-1870, to make French the dominant language among the whole German-speaking people of Alsace-Lorraine. There was never much doubt that the main mass of that people was at once German-speaking and well-affected towards France. They repeatedly made it plain that they desired to know both German and French: this was expressed as late as 1869 in a petition to the Paris authorities. "Nous tenons à connaître l'allemand et le français. Ce que nous demandons est souverainement juste et ne peut nous être refusé. L'éducation de nos enfants nous appartient, et n'appartient qu'à nous." But the effort to make French a true vernacular, by commencing through it alone as a medium, with scholars aged seven to eight years, was doomed to failure. It is by no means clear that the mitigated policy, brought into partial use in Alsace-Lorraine between 1860 and 1870, would have succeeded any better in making French issue into current popular use. It might give a better command of French as a language of intermittent use: it would hardly give the full, expedite, effortless habit of using French as the natural medium of thought and speech, which is required to establish a real vernacular. That reality of vernacular command can be acquired only before seven or eight years of age; and there is good evidence to show that it can then be acquired in two languages, the day's experience of the child being definitely partitioned between them. Against the expectation of success in this direction, when work on the second language begins at the normal age of

entrance into the primary school, the first French language campaign on the Moselle and on the upper Rhine is conclusive evidence. Especially is this the case, since the people were French by political sympathy and needed the second language. It is only more natural that the campaign of Prussia, 1871-1918, to impose the German language as a vernacular in French-speaking Lorraine, and to use it in the schools of the people as an exclusive instrument, should have been even a worse failure. The Prussian teachers sent into French Lorraine had to deal with children who detested the polity and the language thus imposed on them ; and so too ran the thoughts of the people in the homes from which the children came.

The whole question was reopened in October, 1918, when the French Government was again in a position to direct educational policy in Alsace. The initial situation made it quite necessary to assure both the Catholic Church in Alsace, and the Directory of the Lutheran ministers there, that the existing powers regarding the teaching of religion in all the schools, primary and other, would be maintained, and that no restriction would be put on the language to be used as the vehicle of religious instruction. This meant, in effect, that it would always be given in German. In all other respects a very drastic language policy was at once decreed and carried into execution by the French administrative bureaux. The leading spokesman of this policy was the Rector of the " Academy of Strassburg " : this well-known educational unit, in France, denotes the whole series of schools, secondary, primary, and other types, with the University Faculties of the capital city included. This dignitary of the French educational hierarchy explained to all comers that " French is to be the dominant language in Alsace and in all Lorraine. To secure this, the children in the schools must think directly in French ; and this entails the thorough use of the ' direct method.' To begin with German, and to introduce French later on, would leave

French always in the position of a merely accessory language. The relationship between the German language and its Alsatian dialect is so close that, if German were taught in the opening years of the primary school course, it would certainly keep the upper hand over French. We cannot permit this to occur."

This summary of an official's views represents what actually went into effect ; but the language of M. Charléty, Director-General of Public Instruction, was more diplomatic. In January, 1920, he announced that German would be well taught in the schools, to enable all pupils to speak and write it correctly, and that all were agreed that it must have a place in the schools with French. For the time being these suave general statements allayed the general discontent ; but the fears of all parties and all religions in Alsace were amply justified when the official programmes appeared early in 1920.

The new code provided for all primary schools a permanent and standard curriculum, and in a separate section arranged for a transition process, to last four or five years, in favour of those pupils who were already well advanced in the primary schools. The permanent provisions affected at once the education of all new entrants into the primary course, as well as those who were but one or two years at work : and from 1925 it would be the only system allowed in any form. From six to ten years of age all the primary pupils shall, under this code, be taught exclusively French, and exclusively in or through French, on the strict direct method. To effect this, some 1,550 French primary teachers were drafted from the interior of France and sent into the schools of Alsace, with specially increased salaries to serve as a stimulus. Knowing French and ignorant of German, they were set to teach pupils who knew only German. The "direct method" was thus tried on its most rigorous lines and on an unexampled scale. The native teachers of Alsace found themselves reduced to a very inferior

position, marked by salaries only one-half of those accorded to the imported teachers. The validity of "the direct method," in its actual and extreme form of use, was challenged. How can the imported French teacher know that his meaning is understood by the pupils?

The system thus vigorously inaugurated was declared by Catholics and Lutherans, Conservatives and Social Democrats, to be a gross abuse of right order and to be utterly uneducational. A radical newspaper of Strassburg, enjoying great influence, voiced a wider objection when it wrote, in February, 1920, "Ce qui nous a le plus touchés, nous autres Alsaciens, c'est le dédain temoigné à notre nationalité. On semble la considérer comme un gênant obstacle. Provisoirement on peut encore tolérer l'alsacien; mais plus tard il faut y renoncer." This claim to be a distinct nationality was, of course, branded with the derogatory epithet of "particularisme," and the zealots for the new process were in their turn reproached as having adopted all the bitter theories and savage practices of the Pan-Germanists who invaded the schools of Poland in the time of Bismarck. By the summer of 1920 the opposition to the new process had become widespread and acute, and on the public side had spread into many larger issues emerging from the whole policy of modern France in the Rhine basin, from Basle to Cologne. The fact that with pupils from 10 to 14 years of age, just four hours a week were assigned to the German language, did little to appease the universal discontent. It is to be observed also that, as already indicated, German was vigorously used in all classes, from 6 to 14 years of age, for religious instruction. The French State which, invoking republican principles, had banished all religious instruction from the State Schools of France in the years 1882-1886, did not venture to even diminish the liberal and assured provision made for it by the Prussian Government in Alsace-Lorraine.

The special provision, transient in nature, made for

pupils 10 to 14 years of age will disappear in 1925; but some of its details are worthy of attention. Pupils have the use of German as an ordinary subject, and the advantage of religious education in German, as provided for pupils of their age in the permanent plan. In addition, the subjects of History, Geography, Natural Science are taught to them in German. The reasons for this, as officially given, are that the Alsatian teachers must be given something to do, and that they are as yet not competent to teach in French; the pupils, too, would be subjected to overpressure if from 10 years onwards, without any previous preparation, they had to learn *all* subjects in French. Yet they have to learn several in French; and it is also made obligatory, after any lesson given in German, to have a summary of it set out in French on the blackboard, to be copied down, learned by heart within twenty-four hours, and recited in French when learned. No exemption is ever admitted in respect of this daily exercise to be carried out by every Alsatian teacher.

The regulations regarding Secondary Schools and the work of the University of Strassburg are quite simple. All instruction is given in French alone.

On the administrative side, the policy of 1919-1920 is equally drastic. Every inspector and official of the whole Education service in Alsace has been brought into the region from France since the close of the War. "An Alsatian," said a chief director of the primary schools, "may in time become an official of Public Instruction in France, but he need not expect such promotion within Alsace itself." The frank announcement of this policy is reinforced by an equally frank expression of the motive for it. "Ce n'est que comme ça qu'on peut franciser." The Third Republic is here in right line of descent from the First; for the Revolutionary Convention, in the year II., decided on an education policy which had as its aim "franciser les parties allemandes de la République."

The aim of the French State, in its school policy, is quite clear. French is to become the effective vernacular in the regained regions; German and its Alsatian dialect are to be as soon as possible reduced to a quite subordinate place in Alsatian life and thought; professional studies, general culture, and public life are to use French as a carrier and as a source of inspiration; the idea of a distinct Alsatian nationality, in vital contact with the Teutonic tongue used for fifteen centuries, is to be eliminated with all speed and with all thoroughness. All these elements of a policy are expressed in the one word "franciser," used so significantly at the opening of the first Language Campaign, under the First Republic, in 1792, and by the Third Republic when entering in 1920 on the Second Campaign. The vast majority of the people of Alsace, politically oriented towards the West, culturally towards the Rhine and beyond it, seeks something quite different. The Alsatians want to conserve their own tongue, dialect and language alike, for common use in all lines of public and private action; and they are glad to receive a fluent command of French, as a secondary and subordinate vernacular and cultural medium, much as French is used in Flanders, in German Switzerland, and on the Italian Riviera.

The educational issue, in its narrower and professional sense, is obviously centred on the use of the school years from six, the age of entrance, to ten. It is obvious, too, that the intensive campaign, concentrated into these four initial years of the primary school age, will have several very interesting lessons of high practical import for many European peoples, and not the least for ourselves in Ireland. What may be said provisionally, and by way of general indication, is that if the inhabitants of Alsace prevail and secure that, however French may be taught in the primary school, the vehicular language in its opening years shall be the Teutonic, then French will never become the true vernacular of Alsace. If the French

State, on the other hand, is able to keep up its initial effort of 1920, and to teach French only in the first four years of school work, it does not follow that it will achieve its main linguistic purpose. It is clear that while French will be the first language taught in the school, it is by no means the first language in the life and thought of the children.

The vital years for vernacular usage are those from three onwards: and Alsatian Teutonic has a splendid initial advantage. This advantage is not weakened by the fact that the Alsatian dialect has its whole literary and cultural outlet not in a dialect literature, but in standard German. The issue of the renewed language campaign will assuredly turn, in the main, on the question whether the Teutons of Alsace-Lorraine will maintain the home use of the language of their race. Perhaps an indication of the real facts is to be seen in the words of the French Director-General of Education in Alsace, writing in January, 1920, on the use of German in the State Schools, as the medium of religious instruction, a claim that even the highly unifying officialism of French secular education had to admit. Religious teaching, in German, is thus present for four hours a week all through the school course in even the most Gallicised primary schools. And why? The significance of the official reason is not lessened by being perhaps not formally adverted to by the official mind. "Its domestic character," writes M. Charléty, "gives Religious Instruction a distinctive status. The teacher will, therefore, remain free to use that language medium which gives the best approach to, and the fullest influence over, the heart and the soul of the child." It may well be that in the admissions here made will be found the decisive factors in the renewed language campaign now in progress throughout Alsace-Lorraine.

T. Corcoran.

STUDENT SELF-SUPPORT IN AMERICAN COLLEGES

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STUDENT self-support is one of the striking phenomena of higher education in the United States. It is a subject which never fails to arouse the lively interest of the foreigner who visits our schools. From his point of view it is one characteristic of the American college which serves best to differentiate university life here from what it is on the Continent and in England or Ireland. In Europe few students work their way through the university. In the United States large numbers, in some colleges almost one-half of the student-body, are engaged in gainful occupations of one kind or another at the same time that they are attending class. The opportunities for work in cities like New York or Chicago are very numerous, and thousands of college students avail themselves of these to gain a livelihood during the time they are obtaining an education.

No correct estimate of this peculiarity of American college life can be made unless one possesses a clear understanding of educational conditions as they exist here. In the United States public education, supported by taxation, is free, at least theoretically. No tuition fees are charged either in elementary or high schools. The state universities, however, exact a nominal fee, ranging all the way from $10 to $100 annually. No grants or

subsidies are given by the state to students attending high schools and colleges, the one exception being the State of New York, where a beginning has been made in this matter. The result is that it requires a goodly outlay annually to attend even a tax-supported state university. The following table gives an idea of the expenses incurred at one of the large state universities, that of Minnesota. At some state universities the total expenses will be smaller than those given below, because these institutions are located in towns which are not so populous and where living, therefore, is cheaper; but the opportunities for self-support are fewer and, in the long run, it will cost the student who must work as much to maintain himself as it would if he attended one of the larger urban institutions. Student expenses, exclusive of clothing, railroad fare, and vacations, at the University of Minnesota have been calculated by the University Bureau of Employment as follows :—

	Minimum	*Average*	*Liberal*
Academic, Forestry, Home Economics and Education	$446.00	$653.00	$917.00
Mines, Business, Chemistry and Pharmacy	476.00	683.00	947.00
Law	486.00	693.00	962.00
Engineering and Architecture ...	506.00	718.00	992.00
Dentistry	701.00	913.00	1,187.00
Medicine	581.00	788.00	1,062.00

The expenses, however, at private colleges or universities are much higher, due principally to the fact that a tuition fee, ranging from $120 to $360 a year, is charged. At Dartmouth College, for example, expense accounts vary from $600 to $3,000 a year, with $1,342 as the average. The estimated annual expenses of a student of

Princeton University will be, minimum, $765; average, $883; maximum, $1,054. At Yale University a student will spend the following :—

	Minimum	*Average*
Tuition	$300	$300
Room rent	135	195
Board	325	380
Books	30	56
Athletic fees	10	34
Personal necessities ...	50	111
Amusements	40	254
	$890	$1,330

The expenses for attendance at a Catholic college or university will approximate very closely those incurred at Yale, Princeton, or Dartmouth. Since private and religious colleges receive no aid from the state, but are maintained principally by the interest money obtained from endowment funds, it is necessary for them to charge every student a tuition fee covering in part the cost to the college for his education.

Public high schools do not receive tuition fees. In spite of this fact, the expenses incurred by high school students are, in many cases, heavy. Moreover, these students, if they were not attending school, would be able to increase very materially the family income. For these reasons many are compelled to earn money with which to pay wholly or in part the expenses incurred whilst receiving a high school education.

High-school students, therefore, no less than college students, often support themselves. Numerous part-time positions are open to boys and girls, and during the long summer vacation enough money can be earned to meet the

needs of the coming year. Many students enter high school on a co-operative basis; that is, one week they attend class and the following week they work in shops, foundries or offices. In this way they are able to support themselves, at least in part. In a study of self-supported students in certain New York City high schools, Dr. W. W. Pettit discovered that "the chances that a student in De Witt Clinton High School is working for money are between one in three and one in two." The average amount of money earned is $2.50 a week, and the average number of hours employed weekly is about twelve. These self-supporting high school students, of course, do not have as much time for recreation or for athletics as other students. Yet working students seem on the whole to do as well in their studies as non-workers, notwithstanding the fact that they are tardy or absent from class very often, due to the requirements of their positions. There is, however, a much higher elimination amongst workers than non-workers, the increasing mortality being due, no doubt, to the greater economic pressure from home on the poorer boys.

Student self-support has created many problems for the American college. The increasing number of young men and women who, each year, support themselves whilst trying to obtain a higher education, has almost completely changed the atmosphere of our colleges, especially the older and more conservative institutions. University authorities quite generally encourage students to come to college, despite the fact that while there the individual student must support himself. The democracy, which is so characteristic of American college life, looks askance at all efforts to deny the advantages of a university education to a man simply because of limited means. Our colleges throw open their gates to all men and women, the only limiting condition being that self-supporting students are required to be properly prepared before they assume the burdens of higher academic work. Almost

every college in the United States has created an Employment Bureau, whose sole function is to look after the welfare of students who are employed, finding them positions, giving advice, and in every possible way helping worthy boys and girls to graduate.

Nor does the fact that a student is engaged in outside work seem to affect his social status while at college. The working student ordinarily does not possess enough money to belong to a college club or fraternity. But there is little or no prejudice existing against the worker in the majority of our colleges. Everything depends on the individual student. If he is likable, can contribute his share to the social life of the university, the sole fact that he works will not of itself prevent him from participating on the same basis as wealthier or more fortunate students. What has been said of social life holds good for collegiate athletics. Working students are not barred from the representative teams. In fact some of the best known college athletes of the present day are men who are working their way through school.

All college authorities emphasize the fact that the working student is handicapped academically, and that he should not enter college unless his scholastic preparation has been of such a character that he can follow his classes, although not able to give to them as much time and attention as the non-working student. The ill-prepared student who expects to earn all his expenses has little or no chance of success. The task is too great, and the student either breaks down physically under the burden or fails to obtain from the college what he is seeking. Most students, therefore, stay out of school for a year before entering college and, by working and saving, accumulate enough to help them through the first year of college.

The American college presents many opportunities to the bright, deserving student of lowering his expenses by

means of loans, prizes, scholarships, and the remission of tuition expenses. Scholarships are granted solely on the basis of success in the classroom, and amount to sums varying all the way from $50 to $300. At Yale tuition fee is remitted for good work on the following basis :— " The amount of remission granted for the first term of Freshman Year is ordinarily 80 per cent of the tuition charge, *i.e.*, $120 for the term. Awards for the second term of Freshman Year are determined by the first term's classroom standing on the following basis : To Scholars of the First Rank (those who have attained a scholastic average, on the basis of 100, of 90 or over)—full tuition, $150 for the term. To Scholars of the Second Rank (those who have attained a scholastic average of 80 to 89)—80 per cent of tuition, $120 for the term. To Scholars of the Third Rank (those who have attained a scholastic average of 70 to 79)—60 per cent of tuition, $90 for the term. The same principles govern the award of subsequent tuition remissions throughout the three years of Yale College."

The self-supporting student may also obtain scholarships donated to the college by organisations or individuals. Some scholarships pay a student's tuition for the full four years of college. Every college, moreover, offers numerous money prizes to the winners of oratorical or essay contests.

Particularly active in the offering of scholarships and student loans are the different religious denominations in the United States. About twenty organizations, mostly religious, give scholarships. In 1921 the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church aided 2,176 young people with loans totalling $218,306.50.

One of the most significant aids held out to the deserving student is what is known commonly as " student loans." These are definite sums of money loaned to a student, the principal of which he must pay at a stated period after his graduation. Recently an organization has been formed in New York, the Harmon Foundation, which loans money

to students in certain institutions on what are called "modern business principles." The idea is very simple, as well as most businesslike. The Foundation loans a maximum of $250, for which the student must give a number of notes in the form of instalment contracts, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. Each note is payable at the rate of $10 monthly. Payment begins one year after the student has graduated. The idea underlying the Harmon plan seems to be that it is much better for a student to borrow from an impersonal source than from his friends or his college, and that, moreover, the regular monthly payments required to liquidate the loan will develop in him the habit of saving.

At Catholic colleges, besides numerous scholarships which are bestowed for excellent classroom work, it is a common practice to remit tuition, either wholly or in part, to poor boys who would otherwise be deprived of the advantages of college training. Georgetown University, for example, offers fifty scholarships to foreign students. The Catholic University, after competitive examination, bestows graduate scholarships on about the same number. These scholarships entitle the holder to board, lodging, and tuition, and are available for the minimum period required to obtain a degree higher than the B.A. Students holding these scholarships are known as Knights of Columbus Scholars, as the fund upon which they enter was established by the Knights of Columbus.

The employments which students accept while attending college are as numerous as the students themselves. The great majority are employed in and around the university. Waiting on table at the university dining halls appears to be the favourite work. Not only does it pay well, but waiters also receive their meals free of charge, a very important item of college expense being thereby done away with. Moreover, since meals are served at hours which, as a rule, do not conflict with class attendance, the student is able to work and to carry on

his classes with little or no outside interference. Many students act as secretaries, stenographers, ushers, ticket-takers, distributors of newspapers and magazines, agents for commercial firms, chauffeurs, tutors, and at odd jobs about town. Students often work on Saturday afternoons and nights in the stores, theatres, and even in the private homes of the townspeople. Every boy who is willing can find any number of temporary jobs, the income from which will help him materially in meeting his expenses.

At Boston University 725 students earned during the year 1922-1923, including summer vacation, the sum of $54,548.25. Harvard University students earned $94,058.91 in 1922. During the year 1920-1921 the grand total of money earned, or expenses reduced, for men attending Yale amounted to $489,227.

The following table presents a fair idea of the positions held and the amounts earned by campus students at the University of Notre Dame :—

Position	*Number Employed*	*Average Weekly Wage*
Waiting Table ...	60	$5.50.
Janitors	2	$5.50.
Prefects	20	$250.00 per year.
Stenographers ...	10	$200.00 per year.
Secretaries	55	$200.00 per year.
Clerks	10	Free Board and Tuition.
Chauffeurs	2	Free Board and Tuition.

The off-campus students of the University of Notre Dame, who work in South Bend, receive an average of $8.00 weekly for two hours' work.

It must be a surprising thing for a European to learn that thousands of women work their way through American colleges. In the women's colleges many opportunities present themselves for earning money. Likewise,

at the co-educational institutions, and all state universities are of this type, many university girls earn their room and board by working in private homes situated near the campus. Girls generally do light housework, act as nursemaids, or as stenographers. There seems to be little or no prejudice manifested against the working girl, although it must be confessed that fewer girls than men work. Recently a well-known professor of the University of California, Dr. J. B. Piexotto, advised all girls to do some outside work whilst at college. "I think," he stated, "that a girl who does outside work gains much more from college than one who is constantly dependent on money from home and who is free to idle away her extra hours. Extra work does not preclude any girl from taking part in campus activities."

No student, whether man or woman, need forego the advantages of a college education if he is determined, energetic, willing to work, and has no one dependent on him for support. College education is expensive. The average student will spend from $3,000 to $6,000 before he can graduate. On the other hand, the amount of gainful work which may be done by college students will enable them to meet the greater part of these expenses. Working one's way through college is not the ideal way to obtain a higher education. It is the only way open to many ambitious young men, and an increasing number every year is taking advantage of this chance to prepare themselves for business and the professions. Not only are organisations of different kinds manifesting a keener interest in the self-supporting student, and doing a great deal to help him along, but even employers and university officials are becoming more warm in their attitude towards him. The life history of thousands of men who have worked their way through college seems to prove that such work has not been a handicap to them. On the contrary, it has helped to develop both the pluck and ability requisite to ensure success after they have left college.

JAMES H. RYAN

THE EVOLUTION OF SURGERY

BY WILLIAM J. DOOLIN, M.B., F.R.C.S.

AMONGST the Greeks no distinction would appear to have existed between physicians and surgeons: the surgeon was simply a physician who could operate. With a poor knowledge of anatomy, for all their worship of beauty of form, and with no conception of physiology or pathology in our sense, it is little to be wondered at that their surgery was cautious almost to the verge of timidity. Dangerous operations, such as cutting for stone, were expressly forbidden to the regular practitioners who took the oath. This earlier Greek surgery, largely owing to lack of anatomical knowledge, was a very superficial surgery. But Hippocrates and his school represent for us the first stage of evolution in which the practice of surgery was raised from that of a mere empiricism: they got away from the mystical, supernatural interpretation of disease; they observed and classified carefully, and gave us our earliest technical medical vocabulary; lastly, they bequeathed to us a high ethical idea for the healing art.

After the Macedonian conquest, it is in the Alexandria of the Ptolemies (332 B.C.–30 A.D.) that we find the continuation and development of the old Hellenic culture. During the three centuries preceding the Christian era there were, at first in Alexandria and later in Asia Minor (Miletus), Greek schools of anatomy and surgery. Two workers of the Alexandrian School, Herophilus and Erasistratus (between 330 and 280 B.C.), first constituted anatomy as a subject for scientific study.

Following the conquest of the Nile by Pompey, the scene passes to Imperial Rome. Celsus, a wealthy Roman patrician living at the court of Tiberius, was not himself a physician; but, like the elder Pliny, he

was interested in medical matters and compiled a sort of popular encyclopaedia of medicine, in the main a compilation from Greek sources. The seventh book of his *De Re Medica*, written about 35 A.D., is devoted to an account of the surgical practice of his day.

Galen, the most important medical writer of antiquity after Hippocrates, was a very different type. Born at Pergamos (130 A.D.), he studied anatomy and surgery at Smyrna and Alexandria before coming to Rome. He was both a diligent and accurate anatomist: most of his dissections would seem to have been of animals, chiefly dogs and apes; his nomenclature of muscles is largely retained to-day. He may be called the first of the experimental physiologists, witness his section of the spinal cord in dogs and his production of aphonia by section of the inferior laryngeal nerve. He speaks of arterial ligation as a current procedure in Rome; he even tells us where to buy the material imported from the land of the Celts and retailed at a particular shop on the Sacred Way! He died (200 A.D.) in Sicily. His death, says Parsons, was "the downfall of anatomy in ancient times": the study from that time on "languished in neglect and obscurity" for over 1,000 years. Galen's knowledge of anatomy was accepted as final up to the time of Vesalius.

The unsettled state of society during the later stages of the Roman Empire was extremely unfavourable to the successful cultivation of scientific investigation. It is a curious reflection on the absence of humanity amongst the Roman Quirites, that they always continued to regard the practice of medicine as beneath them: as the military masters of the world for close on 400 years they were the roadmakers and lawmakers, but never the healers. Hospitals for the sick poor in Rome there were none till the end of the 4th century, when, according to St. Jerome, the first Nosomachium or infirmary was founded by Fabiola (380 A.D.)

We are now on the eve of the Byzantine Empire (395–1453 A.D.). Alaric and his Visigoths made their first invasion of Italy in 401; before the century was out, these were succeeded by the Ostrogoths with Theodoric as their leader. In the sack of Rome by the barbarians perished much written knowledge, but the Byzantines prevented the complete loss of the Hippocratic and Galenic writings. Clifford Allbutt describes their influence as that of a sort of library wherein were preserved for ten centuries the great monuments of ancient thought till the moment when Western Europe had once more become capable of understanding and utilising them. To the Byzantines is due also the credit of the inception of the hospital system: Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine, took an active part in the foundation of both general and special institutions of the kind.

The second half of the first millennium constitutes truly a "dark age" for European science. Theodoric and his Goths had sacked Rome; Alexandria, after 900 years of learning, was to perish in flames in the middle of the 7th century. The hordes of Islam had, within the next century, established a firm footing in Spain. It is mainly through the Arabian physicians, rather than by way of Roman transmission, that mediaeval Europe received the gift of the older Greek thought. During the Caliphate of Haroun-al-Raschid and his immediate successors in Bagdad Greek learning streamed into Islam, whereby large collections of Greek manuscripts were made and, after translation into Arabic, carefully preserved.

Within little more than a century from Mahomet's death the Moslem power extended from the Pamirs to Spain. To this Arabian invasion of Europe our modern civilisation is under an enormous debt. Arabian scientists gave us the numerals we use to-day; to them also we owe algebra, trigonometry, and the use of the pendulum; in chemistry they made enormous advances, with their discovery of alcohol, potash, silver nitrate, corrosive

sublimate, and sulphuric acid. Furthermore they were the first to introduce paper into Europe, the secret of whose manufacture they had learnt from the Chinese. But Arabic surgery was merely a debased transfer from the Greeks. As in Greece of old the rules of Islam forbade dissection, the Koran denouncing as unclean that person who defiles a corpse; Arabian knowledge of anatomy was mainly acquired by translations from Galen and the Alexandrian anatomists. Arabian society largely protected itself from surgical enthusiasm by the regulation that, before practising on the Faithful, the tyro must first have operated successfully on three unbelievers. As the Arab religion forbade the shedding of the blood of the Faithful, it is to the Arabian surgical practitioners we owe the introduction of the cautery.

During the centuries of Greek predominance and during the Roman Empire there had been no distinction between surgeon and physician. It would appear to have been the Arabian physicians who first inculcated the doctrine of the inferiority of the surgical branch of the healing art. Thanks to the teachings of Avicenna, the practice of surgery was relegated to the barbers and strolling mountebanks. From the Hippocratic conception of being the true right arm of medicine, surgery steadily sank to the most menial position. Arabian interference may be considered primarily responsible for the lack of surgical development between the 7th and 12th centuries.

We have to note next the rise of the two famous mediaeval schools of medicine. At the school of Montpellier in Southern France Arabian influence was largely predominant. In the small town of Salerno, however, near Naples, the torch of the old Greek liberty and independence of thought kept burning through these dismal centuries, almost untouched by Arabic doctrines. Although we have no written record of anatomical dissections having been undertaken in this

school, from it came two notable surgeons, Roger of Palermo and his pupil Roland of Parma. From Roger, in 1170, comes the first daring suggestion that a torn intestine might be sutured over a hollow tube, such as a goosequill, thus anticipating Murphy's intestinal button by 700 years. At Salerno, too, was used the " soporific sponge " for inhalation. This sponge was steeped in a mixture of opium, hyoscyamus, hemlock and mandragora, and dried ; when moistened, it was inhaled by the patient just before operation. He was awakened by applying fennel juice to his nostrils.

From Salerno we can trace, unbroken, a thin stream of correct surgical endeavour trickling along upwards through Western Europe. Roger's *Practica*, written towards the end of the twelfth century, was published by his pupil Roland some fifty years later. It remained the standard surgical text of the Salernian school : in its pages we find the introduction of the seton and the earliest use of seaweed for goitre. Roland's successor, Theodoric of Lucca (1266), anticipated the aseptic idea of to-day with his dry treatment of wounds. The ablest of this group was Saliceto of Bologna (1215-1277). In his practice he refused to recognise the artificial division between surgery and medicine ; he kept good case-histories, restored the use of the knife as against the cautery, and showed how to recognise and suture divided nerves. As a physician, he was the first author of antiquity to recognise the renal origin of dropsy, and he is said to have made valuable contributions to gynaecology. His teaching and influence were ably carried on by his pupil, Lanfranchi. A native of Milan, he was obliged by the quarrels of Guelph and Ghibelline to forsake his native city ; he wandered by way of Lyons to Paris, where he became attached to the recently created Confraternity of St. Come. Here he taught for close on twenty years till his death (1315) ; wherefore he may be accepted as the virtual founder of the French

surgical school. Like Saliceto, he made a resolute, if ineffectual, stand against the mediaeval schism between physicians and surgeons. He won great renown for his skill in head injuries and was the first to define concussion of the brain.

Lanfranc's most brilliant pupils were Henri de Mondeville in France and Jan Yperman in the Netherlands. The latter's reputation in the Low Countries during the Hundred Year's War is still maintained in a popular Belgian proverb to this day. That these men were indeed rare lights in an epoch lamentably dark in the annals of surgery only serves to heighten their merit as being the channel through which the earliest contributions of Italian learning slowly filtered through a Europe sunk in scientific ignorance. Through these mediaeval Italian surgeons was preserved some trace of the old Greek spirit of observation and of independence of thought in an era notable for its slavish acceptance of Galenic dogma. De Mondeville, the witty Frenchman who sarcastically enquired of his brethren if they thought God had exhausted His resources in creating Galen, was the last protagonist of the old Hippocratic principle of cleanliness in wound treatment. From this time onwards, till Lister came, the advocates of " laudable pus " were to have it all their own way.

If we pause here for a moment to consider in how far the practice of surgery had advanced in the thousand years following on Galen's death, we must admit that, so far from advancing, it had actually receded. Scientifically speaking, at the close of the Middle Ages man was little better equipped in his knowledge of the laws of Nature than he had been in the heyday of Greek science. The scientific standard of the Europe of 1300 A.D. was little, if any, higher than was that of Alexandria of 200 B.C.

During the thirteenth century so low had sunk the practice of surgery that Frederick II, in his capacity as

head of the Holy Roman Empire, was constrained to issue an edict (1240) wherein it was enacted that no surgeon would be allowed to practise as such without a written testimonial to the effect that he had devoted at least one year to the special study of the anatomy of the human body. The importance of this date cannot be overestimated by the surgical historian. Twenty years later came the foundation of the school of medicine at the University of Bologna, whose faculty had long been distinguished in law and philosophy. As the result of the Emperor's edict anatomy was at first studied rather as an appendage to surgery than as a special branch of science. The first of the Italian anatomical investigators was Mondino, whose textbook was published in 1315. Practically all the pre-Renaissance anatomists were the successors of Mondino in the chair at Bologna.

Under the tutorship of Bertucci, Mondino's successor, there studied at Bologna Guy de Chauliac, the most erudite of all the mediaeval surgeons. Himself in Orders, he was surgeon to four successive Popes at Avignon. As an operator he strongly advocated the necessity for preliminary anatomical study, and was one of the first of the regular surgeons to take the operation for herniotomy out of the hands of the journeymen strollers; he it was who first recommended suspension for fractures, and the application of extension by weight and pulley in fracture of the femur. Curiously enough, this excellent practice fell into disuse after his death, till its reintroduction by Bardenheuer in the 19th century. Chauliac wrote an enormous textbook (in Church Latin), *Chirurgia Magna*, in 1363, which was the standard European textbook for the next 200 years. A French translation appeared in 1478; later there appeared English, Italian, German and Spanish editions. Vicary, the leading English surgeon under Elizabeth, bequeathed his copy as late as 1561 to the Company of Barber Surgeons in London.

Contemporaneous with Guy de Chauliac was John of Arderne, the first English surgeon of whom we have any knowledge. Born in 1307, he lived through the greater part of the XIV. century, and saw much service on the Continent with John of Gaunt's army in the One Hundred Years' War. These Knights, the flower of Froissart's chivalry, were lusty eaters: wearing heavy armour, and spending many hours day and night in the saddle, constipation was their bane. Small wonder that so many developed ischiorectal abscesses, with consequent fistula in ano. According to Sir D'Arcy Power, John Arderne first devised the modern incisional operation for this complaint, which however, like Chauliac's suspension of fractures, fell into disuse after his death for nearly 500 years.

We have seen how the progress of surgery had been retarded by Arabic influence during the Middle Ages; two other causes remain to be noted. All through this time the Church had been the true foster mother of classical learning. Salerno itself owed its origin to the neighbouring Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino. But it was felt by the Papal authorities that there were many aspects of practical surgery that were inconsistent with Holy Orders, and so a series of edicts were issued during the XII century aimed, not at the practice of surgery as such (as anti-ecclesiastical historians would have us believe), but at its practice by monks. The best known of these is the edict of the Council of Tours (1163) commencing "Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine." The weight and authority of the source whence this maxim emanated, together with the ignorance and stupidity so prevalent amongst the contemporary laity, led to a narrow and harmful interpretation which tended to depress further the status of the surgeon in the social scale beside his more learned brother the physician. But most harm of all was wrought within the faculty itself: the quarrels of the physicians and surgeons in

Paris spread all through Europe outside of Italy, and continued to maintain the artificial and sterilising division between surgery and medicine which had sprung from the Arabic aversion to the shedding of blood.

Towards the end of the XIII century there had been formed at Paris the Confrèrie de St. Côme : this was a guild formed by the corporation of the sworn surgeons of the city. The confraternity was divided into two classes, the clerical surgeons of the long robe and the lay barber surgeons of the short robe : the former, usually clerks in Minor Orders, had some Latinity ; the latter were more or less illiterate, and their duties were confined to shaving, to bleeding, and to the dressing of abscesses and pustules. Quarrels between the two divisions were frequent. During the XIV century, by Royal Decree the practice of surgery was forbidden to those of the short robe until they had passed an examination before a jury composed of surgeons of the long robe. From the time of their foundation about 1268 till the establishment of the Royal Academy of Surgery in 1731, their incessant quarrels did much to retard the progress of surgery in France. In his life of Ambroise Paré Dr. Packard gives a vivid picture of the medical profession in Paris of the XVI century :—

> First came the physicians, members of the Faculty of Medicine, who held their heads very high. They arrogated to themselves the right of control over all who attempted to practise the healing art in any of its branches. The second class was composed of the surgeons of the long robe, incorporated in the Confraternity of St. Côme. The community of the Barber Surgeons held third place. The surgeons were ground between the upper and nether millstone, the physicians constantly checking them in any attempt to practise medicine, and the barber surgeons frequently encroaching on the field of surgical practice. The surgeons of the long robe would not condescend to operate. They confined themselves to the treatment of surgical conditions by the application of salves and plasters, the use of the cautery, and

the treatment of wounds and abscesses. The barber surgeons practised venesection, cupping and leeching, and were constantly attempting operations.

The 14th century, spent in a hundred years of warfare, was scientifically a period of decay: men's minds, distracted by the shock of warring hosts, were little attuned to any scientific endeavour. In the XV century the destruction of Constantinople by the Turk hastened the flow of Greek scholars and their manuscripts westward to Italy: here the recently invented printing press rapidly diffused the New Learning. The return to Greece and Greek liberty of thought was the keynote to the Renaissance movement; with it came a reinfusion of the old Greek spirit of enquiry amongst men of science.

Early in the 16th century there came to Paris from Brussels a 14 year old student of Louvain, a member of a family of doctors, to study anatomy under Jacques Du Bois, whose name has been Latinised as Sylvius. Vesalius, for it was he, dissatisfied with rough demonstrations on dogs from the barber surgeons and their apprentices, determined to "put his own hand to the business," and so he wandered down to Italy. Accordingly, we find him in 1536 at Venice, where he "anatomised" so assiduously that he was appointed a public demonstrator in the following year at the University of Padua. Here he remained for six or seven years, when he was called to the professorship at Bologna, and subsequently at Pisa. Vesalius was imbued with that precious quality which makes the investigator desire to see and know things for himself. After ten years of dissecting, he had completed his epochmaking treatise, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, which was to earn for him the title of the Father of Anatomy. In 1543, in his twenty-ninth year, appeared this first text-book of anatomy, in which the plates were made from actual dissections: it was illustrated by Calcar, the pupil of Titian, and printed at Bâle in Switzerland.

The errors which Vesalius rectified in the works of his predecessors, and the additions to knowledge which he himself made, are far too numerous to mention. Not alone was he an anatomist, the first of a long line whose names are the glory of the Italian school, but he was also an experimenter and a surgeon of the widest European repute. In addition to his anatomical work he showed that animals can survive splenectomy, that the brain acts on the trunk and limbs by the spinal cord, that the lungs shrink on opening the chest. Furthermore, he was the first to employ artificial respiration as a result of his observations on vivisected animals. As a surgeon he operated successfully on Don Carlos of Aragon for empyema: his fame was such that he was called in consultation to the bedside of the King of France. A man of such eminence must have made enemies: he was denounced to the Inquisition, and was sentenced to perform a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On the return journey he was shipwrecked and died on an island in the Aegean Sea (1564).

The earliest influence of the New Anatomy is to be seen in the work of Ambroise Paré, the greatest of all Renaissance surgeons. Born four years before Vesalius, he was apprenticed in the province to a barber surgeon. At 19 he came to Paris and entered the wards of the Hôtel Dieu as a surgical dresser. In 1537 he went to the wars as military surgeon, and in 1541, on his return to Paris, he was admitted as a fully qualified barber surgeon. Of him it may truly be said that he made his way to the front on the field of battle. At the siege of Metz, 1552, he modestly relates how he was called to the tent of a gentleman who had lain unconscious 14 days, having been hit on the head with a stone cannon-ball. He had vomited, bled from mouth, nose and ears, and had had convulsive tremors. Paré trephined him, and modestly concludes his narrative thus: "I dressed him, with other surgeons, and God

healed him." *Je le pansay : Dieu le guarit* is the inscription on his statue in Paris to-day.

Paré's contributions to the evolution of surgery were many. He did away with the prevalent practice of pouring boiling oil into wounds ; he re-introduced the ligature, which had fallen into abeyance during the long reign of the cautery, and so was the first of the modern amputators ; he preserved the testis in herniotomy, introduced massage, and was the first to recognise the hypertrophied prostate as a cause of strangury and syphilis as a cause of aneurysm. He translated Vesalius' work into French for the benefit of his fellow surgeons ; nor must we omit his influence as an obstetrician, for to him is due the credit of introducing podalic version and the induction of artificial labour. During a long life-time he wrote nearly thirty books on surgical subjects. His influence in elevating surgery from the low state to which it had fallen in the estimation of society was enormous.

Renaissance influence was slow in reaching England. To the Hundred Years' War had succeeded the Wars of the Roses. There must have been a large and continuous demand for army surgeons. John of Arderne we know of as the first serious writer on surgery. Morstead was with Henry V at Agincourt. In the times of good Queen Bess surgery in England was a sorry trade rather than a profession. Vicary, Clowes and Banister are the best known of the barber surgeons of those days. It was during the reign of James I that Harvey first made public his discovery of the circulation of the blood (1628). Richard Wiseman would seem to have been the outstanding English surgeon of the century : he first described the " tumor albus " or tuberculous knee ; he practised flap amputations, and external urethrotomy for stricture.

Of both France and England, as of Italy, it may be said that during the 16th and 17th centuries no very

great advances in surgery were made, beyond the recognition of the necessity for a sound anatomical instruction. These anatomical studies were continued and developed on all sides during the 18th century. At the close of 17th century Malpighi, at Bologna, had completed the anatomical work of Servetus and Harvey with his discoveries of the capillaries filled with red blood corpuscles (1694). The physiology of the circulation had yet to wait for Black's discovery of CO_2 and for the recognition of oxygen by Lavoisier, who was to die on the guillotine in the earliest days of the French Revolution (1792).

As with surgery and anatomy, it is to Bologna and Padua we owe our modern pathology. Morgagni, in the 18th century, is the last of a long illustrious line of professors of anatomy, which we have seen begin with Mondino in the 14th century. From Mondino, through Berengario to Vesalius and Fallopius, and on to Valsalva and Morgagni, there is a continuous succession of great names in anatomy attached to the University of Bologna, such as no other teaching centre can show. With Morgagni we have laid the foundations of pathological anatomy.

In England the study of anatomy, surgery and pathology received a mighty impulse from the life work of John Hunter. Cheselden and Pott, the two best known surgical names prior to his time, were two excellent clinical surgeons of the Paré type. Hunter made surgery a definite branch of scientific medicine, securely grounded on physiology and pathology. Born outside Glasgow in 1728, he came to London as a student of his brother William, who was already an anatomist and obstetrician of distinction. The many-sidedness and magnitude of John Hunter's work can be realised only by a visit to the museum collected by him, and bought by the Government after his death, to be placed under the care of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. His

was the most curious and most active intelligence of his epoch. He was anatomist, physiologist, biologist and surgeon all in one, dissecting everything he came across from birds to elephants, and experimenting ceaselessly. He was in fact the creator of experimental surgical pathology. His anatomical discoveries were numerous; he described the descent of the testis and the gubernaculum; his dissection of a deer's horn led to the operation for aneurysm and the description of the aponeurotic canal which bears his name; an injury received dancing led him to study repair in tendons. An accidental inoculation with syphilis led to the recognition of hard and soft chancre: he refused treatment that he might the better study the progress of the disease. As a surgical pathologist, he first described shock, pyaemia, phlebitis, and intussusception. As a physician, he introduced artificial feeding by a tube passed down to the stomach. He died of angina pectoris in 1793. Up to the time of Hunter it was generally assumed that a knowledge of anatomy alone was sufficient foundation for the study of surgery. Hunter sought, in comparative anatomy and by experiment, the reason for every phenomenon that came under his observant eye. In our narration of the evolution of surgery, he stands midway between Paré and Lister, one of the three greatest surgeons of all time.

The latter years of the 18th century saw the surgeons at last liberated from the yoke of the physicians which had galled them so sorely and so long. Surgery was at last becoming respectable; in 1731 the Royal Academy of Surgery was founded in Paris; to be followed by the foundations of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons in Edinburgh (1778), Dublin (1784), and London (1800).

With the increase of knowledge of anatomy, physiology and pathology, the surgery of the first half of the 19th century showed decided advances on that of the 17th and 18th. Clinical instruction was regular, and diagnosis

was becoming more accurate. The surgery of this period is characterised by brilliant, speedy operating, based on an accurate knowledge of anatomy and amazing manual skill. Haemorrhage was no longer feared by the surgeon; but there still remained two great problems to be solved; the relief from pain during operation and the checking of the appalling mortality from post operative sepsis.

The abolition of pain during operation had been the dream of surgeons for generations. In 1844 it became an accomplished fact, when Wells, an American dentist, introduced nitrous oxide into practice. Two years later his pupil and partner, Morton, brought the soporific qualities of sulphuric ether to the notice of John Collins Warren, who performed the first surgical operation under ether at the Massachusetts General Hospital (October 16, 1846). The following December Liston first used it in London, for an amputation above the knee. In the year following, Simpson introduced chloroform into midwifery practice in Edinburgh. It is to Oliver Wendell Holmes that we owe the term "anaesthesia."

Prior to Hunter and Morgagni the objective features of disease were fairly well recognised, but of the actual changes which the disease process brought about in the tissues very little was known. Between 1750 and 1850 the study of morbid anatomy had made tremendous strides, although with this knowledge there came but little improvement in methods of treatment. No treatment can be rational till based on a knowledge of the *cause* of disease. Here came Pasteur's great work. "Before him," as Osler truly wrote, "all was Egyptian darkness: with his advent came light."

Pasteur's biochemical investigation of fermentation processes in wine and beer, and his studies on the hotly debated question of spontaneous generation, demonstrated beyond dispute the rôle played by micro-organisms in the generation of putrefactive processes in living tissues. As the founder of bacteriology, it is to him is due the

giant's share of the gratitude of humanity at having been liberated from so much suffering. No scientist, in all the annals of human endeavour, has produced such lasting benefits for the health and well-being of mankind.

It is an oft recognised fact that the new ideas seldom greatly influence the generation in which they have their source. Pasteur's demonstrations, repeated over and over again in the laboratory, of the correlation between microbes and diseases were received with the greatest scepticism and often thinly veiled contempt by his medical and surgical confrères in the Academy at Paris. It was in England alone that one young operator could be found to see the truth of his ideas. This was Joseph Lister, then recently appointed surgeon to the Glasgow Infirmary. It should be clearly understood that Lister's treatment of wounds was founded on Pasteur's teaching. No man ever acknowledged a debt more often and more unequivocally than he has in this matter.

As an indication of the volume of work made possible by Lister, let us go back to the Royal Infirmary at Glasgow in 1865—little more than half a century ago—the year when he was appointed surgeon to that Institution. There were then 400 beds (general purposes) and only one operating theatre, in which 310 operations were performed in that year. In 1912, the year of Lister's death, there were 665 beds, with eight operating theatres, in which 7,093 operations were performed. In the years when Lister worked there, the abdomen was as a closed book to the surgeon; while he was perfecting the antiseptic system, Ericsen, his old teacher, ten years after Lister's first paper had appeared, confidently stated in a public address in London that operative surgery had then reached its limits; that there were three regions in the human body into which the surgeon's knife would never penetrate—the cavities of the skull, the chest, and the abdomen. Within two years Lawson Tait was to prove himself the pioneer of abdominal surgery, as

within twenty Victor Horsley was to astonish the world with the surety and daring of his cranial surgery; while to-day the work of men such as Rehn, Meyer and Sauerbruch has shown us that there are no secrets for the surgeon bold enough to penetrate pericardium and pleura.

Wherein lies Lister's credit? Operations in these days were few, because the larger part of the human body was deemed beyond the province of surgery. Arterial ligature for aneurysms and amputations for compound fracture formed the major portion of the operative field. There was no abdominal surgery outside ovariotomy, which even in Keith's and Well's able hands had a 30 per cent. mortality; many feared even to drain the thorax for empyema; there was no cranial surgery beyond trephining for meningeal haemorrhage. Notwithstanding the new control of haemorrhage and the precious boon of anaesthesia, the surgical art was arrested, almost terrified, by the fatalities which followed upon almost every type of operation in hospitals. Surgeons had grown to look on post-operative suppuration as upon an inevitable disease, an almost divinely instituted consequence of any important operation. In the surgical wards of any large European hospital four diseases were so rampant as to be known as "Hospital Diseases"—*i.e.*, erysipelas, septicaemia, pyaemia and hospital gangrene. These were looked upon as in some way due to the impure state of the atmosphere consequent on overcrowding. Despite Pasteur's teaching, nobody looked on microbes as other than microscopical curiosities; on all sides the germ theory of disease was scoffed at; thanks to their own incredulity, surgeons were fighting sepsis utterly in the dark. Amputation statistics were truly frightful: Ericsen could regard complacently his 25 per cent. mortality, when contrasted with Syme's Edinburgh figures of 43 per cent. and Billroth's, at Zurich, of 46 per cent.; while in Paris, where Pasteur was working and teaching, the surgical

operative mortality of all the city hospitals averaged 59 per cent. Small wonder that Simpson, the discoverer of chloroform, should bitterly declare that the man laid on the operating table of any surgical hospital was exposed to more chances of death than any soldier on the field of Waterloo!

To Lister alone of his time was it given to see the truth of Pasteur's work, and to deduce from it the principles underlying all wound treatment since his time—viz., that all infection of wounds comes from outside; that healthy uncontaminated wounds heal spontaneously. For twenty years he experimented, operated, and laboured in his efforts to demonstrate that a germ-free atmosphere for the area of operation was possible of attainment. The evolution of the ideal of asepsis from that of antisepsis was logical and inevitable. Based on Lister's simple creed, the aseptic technique was formulated and worked out mainly by von Bergmann in Germany (1890-2). For us to-day, reared in the most rigid orthodoxy of the aseptic faith, it is almost incredible to realise the opposition raised by Lister's earlier contemporaries to the antiseptic theory. His most vigorous opponents are now forgotten, while his work remains a monument to his memory, and will remain so long as surgery is called upon to redress the ills to which human flesh is heir.

Of the enormous strides made during the past half century in experimental physiology, medicine and surgery I have neither time nor space to write. Listerian principles have made their achievement possible. But let us not get inflated with the false idea that modern surgery, as we know it, is of yesterday's growth; we are but the inheritors of the ages that have gone before us. The work of each century results in the acquisition of a number of facts which add themselves to those acquired in preceding centuries, and so the sum total of our knowledge grows slowly as generation is added unto generation.

WILLIAM J. DOOLIN.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXVI—An Irritable Genius

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, D.LITT.

The following poem was composed in 1213 by Muireadhach O Dálaigh, one of the most remarkable characters in Irish literary history. O'Donnell's steward had come to the poet's home at Lissadill, in Sligo, and made his demand with insulting words. The man of art seized a sharp axe and instantly cut him down. O'Donnell took the occurrence in a more serious light than the poet, who fled to the territory afterwards known as Clanrickard, with this appeal to Richard Fitz William Fitz Adelm de Burgo. There was evidently no time for an elaborate ode; some of the quatrains read like strings of proverbs, indeed they are sometimes quoted in late MSS. apart from their context. How Muireadhach was driven on to Thomond, thence to Limerick, and at last escaped from Dublin to Scotland, is told by the Four Masters. He appealed in vain to all the leading families of Ireland, and in a later poem, his pride now humbled, he bewails the bitterness of fifteen years exile. From his stay in Scotland he got the name of Muireadhach Albanach, and his descendants in that country are known as Mac Vuirichs.

The text is from 23 D 14 (R.I.A.). The only other copy known to me is of little help. It occurs in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, written in Argyllshire about 1520, in a peculiar spelling; the first line is "Cred aggew ee in gayn."

O Dálaigh Midhe cc.

1. Créd agaibh aoidhigh a gcéin,
a ghiolla gusan ngaillsgéimh,
a dhream ghaoidhealta ghallda,
naoidheanta sheang shaorchlannda?

2. An choinnimhsi atá in bhur ttoigh,
ar dtoigheacht a gcéin chugaibh,
do cleachtadh dháibh[1] fíon d'ibhe
do láimh ríogh nó ridire.

3. Meinic do chaithsead a gcuid
do láimh abadh nó easbuig;
ní bhuaidhrid gaillteach dá nglór,
nocha cainnteach a gcomhól.

[1] dhoibh MS.

4. Meisi a maighistir múinte,
minic mé a measg ghallchúirte,
beag do charaibh[1] chuirim dhíom,
suidhim ar aghaidh airdríogh.

5. Tárruim dá gach rígh roineart,
aoibhinn damh ar deóruigheacht,
uasal mo riocht sa tír thoir,
ní bhínn gan chniocht am chumaidh.

6. Ní dó sin adtrásta atú,
a mheic[2] Uilliam, a onchú ;
's ná labhradh sé, a fhlaith Laighean,
an té bhus maith molfaidhear.

7. Fearr neach ele iná hé féin
dá mholadh, madh maith eiséin ;
neach féin go mór dhá mholadh,
céim as lór dá lochdughadh.

8. Ar teicheadh tánag anos
chugad ón ló nár lamhas
bheith fá chosaibh chloinne Cuinn,
ar losaibh dhoirre Domhnaill.

9. Domhnall Doire is Droma[3] Cliabh,
ná tréig dhó mé, a mheic Uilliam ;
neach dá mbí go cruaidh ad chionn,
an[4] rí thuaidh nocha tréigeann.

10. Beag ar bhfala risin bhfear,
bachlach do bheith dom cháineadh,
mé do mharbhadh an mhoghadh—
a Dhé, an adhbhar anfholadh ?

11. Rí Easa Ruaidh do-rinne
bagar orm[5] tré aininne
do-ghén tréna ngealltaibh dhamh
mo bhél ré seabhcaibh Saxan.

[1] choraibh MS. [2] mhic *passim*. [3] druim MS. [4] *om*. MS.
[5] oram MS.

12. Mé ar h'eineach 's[1] ar eineach nGall,
's gach aon iomarchas iarann;
a nathair sheang ghlan gharccsa,
gabh fád cheann mo chonmharccsa.

13. Cá fios nach tiucfadh ad theagh
aos dána na ccóig ccóigeadh?
fiafraigh[2] gach aonuam as fhearr
do shaorshluagh iarthair Eireann.

14. Ní saoi gach file lé fios;
nocha n-ughdar gach éigios;
do chneassa ad-chiam gan ainimh;
dá dtrian feasa fiafraighidh.

15. Ní comhfhad bhíos barr na mér,
ní bhí uile cách coimhthrén;
clár nocha bí gan bhranán,
ní bhí ál gan uachtarán.

16. Tusa ceann do chinidh féin,
a mheic Uilliam go n-óirnéimh;
an té as[3] fhearr dá gach aicme,
as hé as ceann don chlannmhaicne

17. Beag a fhios agad, dar leam,
cia misi d'fhearaibh Eireann;
spéis am dhánuibh dhlighe dhe,
O Dálaigh Midhe meise.

18. A Riocaird óig an fhuinn ghloin,
ó nach mair Uilliam t'athair,
do ghiall Clann Uilliam uile
dod bharr chruinnfhiar chróchbhuidhe.[4]

19. As leat Cruacha mhór Mheadhbha,
Teamhair, as tú a tighearna;
ón ló as é do theagh Teamhair,
as mo chean a cóigeadhaigh!

[1] is MS. [2] -dh MS. [3] s MS. [4] cr. cr. MS.

20. As leatsa Múr Mheic an Duinn,
dán hainm Caislén Uí Chonuing ;
as leat anoisi an cladh clach
dár ghabh Mac Coisi an cédrath.

21. Aluinn slios an tighe thall
an tráth fá dheóigh do dhéchsam ;
ní fhacaidh súil slios tighe
go bhfios dúin budh daoinighe ;—

22. Teagh budh leabhra gile lámh,
teagh budh tana troigh bhonnbhán,
teagh budh connloighe[1] cladhfholt,
's budh lonnraighe[1] lámhanart ;—

23. Teagh budh gile guala is ucht,
is budh bélchorcra banntracht,
teagh budh cromghlanbhuidhe cúil
ós[2] gormabhruighe[3] glasshúil ;—

24. Teagh budh lia uscar órdha,
teagh budh lia fear friothólmha,
teagh budh lia dáileamh deighfhear,—
nár sáidheadh 's nach sáithfidhear !

25. A Riocaird Bheinne Bladhma,
ná tréig an t-aos ealadhna ;
gibé oirbheart do-né neach,
ní hoirdhearc é gan eineach.

26. Ná beir[4] leithbhreith, a fhlaith Gall,
ná tréig ar thrén an t-anbhfann ;
sgél éithigh ná hadhair dhe,
ná tabhair bréithir mbréige.

27. Ná bí réd bhiodhbhaidh go mín,
ná bí go huis ré hairdrígh,
ná bí ar tí chagaidh ar chlag,
ná bí ar abaidh ná ar easbag.

[1] *read* coinnlighe *and* loinnrighe (?). [2] *read* 's budh (?) [3] -dhe MS.
[4] *om.* MS.

28. Ná bí ré mílidh go[1] meata,
ná bí ré mnaoi go[1] míleata,
ná bí ar filidh[2] go fortail,
a rí an chinidh Chonnachtaigh.

29. Fá neimhiongnadh uair eile
a Riocaird, a ridire,
each luath ó Gholl 'nar nglaicne
nó cuach corr go ccubhairchre.

Créd.

[1] *om., or read* ar *for* ré. [2] fhilidh MS.

Translation

1. Whence comes it that ye have guests from afar, O youth of foreign beauty, O ye who are become Gaelic, yet foreign, young, graceful and highborn ?
2. This band that is in your house, that is come to you from afar, they were wont to quaff wine from the hand of kings or knights.
3. Ofttimes have they taken their meal from the hand of abbot or bishop ; they disturb no foreign house with their speech, their banqueting is not talkative.
4. I am their master of teaching ; oft have I been amid a foreign court ; little ceremony I make ; I sit in the presence of a monarch.
5. I attain great power from every prince, pleasant it is to me to be abroad ; noble is my state in the eastern land ; I had ever a knight attending me.
6. Not upon this do I dwell now, O Fitz-William, thou hero ! One need not speak, O lord of Leinster—he that is good will be praised.
7. If he be good, 'tis better that another should praise him rather than himself ; for a man to praise himself highly is a step sufficient to bring him blame.
8. In flight am I come to thee now, since I durst not be under the feet of the Children of Conn, because of Domhnall's anger.
9. Domhnall of Derry and Drumcliff, abandon me not to him, Fitz-William ; the northern prince does not abandon one who is bold against thee.
10. Trifling is our difference with the man : that a churl was abusing me and that I killed the serf—O God ! is this a ground for enmity ?
11. The king of Assaroe has threatened me in anger. Because of their promises to me I will turn my face to the Saxon champions.
12. I put myself under thy safeguard and under the safeguard of the Foreigners, and of everyone who carries steel ; O champion, graceful, bright and fierce, take upon thee my quarrel (?)
13. Who knows but that the poets of the five provinces may come to thy house ? Inquire of all the best guilds (?) of the noble host of western Ireland.
14. Not every learned poet is a sage ; not every scholar is an author ; we see that thy form is faultless ; two-thirds of knowledge is inquiry.
15. Not equal in length are the tops of the fingers ; all men are not equally strong ; there is no chessboard without a king ; there is no brood without a leader.
16. Thou art the head of thine own race, O Fitz-William of the golden sheen ; he that is the best in each stock is the head of the family.

17. Little thou knowest, methinks, who I am of the men of Ireland; thou art bound to give heed to my verses for that I am O'Daly of Meath!
18. O young Richard of the bright land, since thy father William lives not, all Clanwilliam has obeyed thy round curling saffron-yellow locks.
19. Thine is Meadhbh's mighty Cruacha,[1] thou art lord of Tara; since Tara is thy house, hail to her provincial kings!
20. Thine is the castle of Mac an Duinn which is named Caislén Uí Chonuing;[2] thine now is the stone fence from which Mac Coise[3] won the first success.
21. Beautiful was the side of yonder house when last we looked upon it; no eye hath seen, to our knowledge, the side of a house with a larger retinue;—
22. A house where white hands were longer, a house where white-soled feet were more slender, a house where clustering locks were more brilliant, and where hand-linen was more lustrous;—
23. A house where shoulders and bosoms were whiter, and where ladies were more red-lipped, where locks were more curving, bright and yellow, and blue eyes shaded by darker lashes;—
24. A house wherein were more golden jewels, a house wherein were more serving men, a house wherein were more spencers of noble birth,—that has not been built and will not be built!
25. O Richard of Beann Bladhma,[4] forsake not the men of art. Whatever exploit one may do, no one is famous without generosity.
26. Pass no partial sentence, O prince of the Foreigners; abandon not the weak to the strong; give heed to no lying tale; utter no false word.
27. Be not gentle towards thine enemy; be not humble towards a High King; be not inclined to war against the Church; offend not abbot or bishop.
28. Be not timid towards a warrior; be not warlike against a woman; be not strong against a poet, O prince of the Connacht race.
29. It was nothing strange one day, O knightly Richard, that I should hold as my own a swift steed bestowed by a foreigner, or a smooth and lidded[5] goblet.

OSBORN BERGIN.

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[1] Rathcroghan in Co. Roscommon. [2] Castleconnell, Co. Limerick. [3] For the poet Mac Coise, who, according to the legend, enjoyed the revenues of Ireland for a year, see Eriu ix 175. [4] Slieve Bloom. [5] assuming the existence of the word *cubhaircre*, from Mid. Eng. or Fr. *covercle*.

THE PLAYS OF LADY GREGORY

BY ANDREW E. MALONE.

THE Irish, and the English, conception of the Irishman is still composed of a blend of Lever, Lover and Boucicault, and neither Larry Doyle nor Broadbent, by the simple method of reversing the characteristics of tradition, can change the popular conception. The stage Irishman is popularly supposed to have been banished by the righteous anger of the Irish people, but it is the staginess only that has been banished—the caubeen, kneebreeches, shillelagh and begorra have gone from the stage, but the clowning of *Handy Andy* remains to delight audiences and benefit box-offices. *The Colleen Bawn* is still very popular in Dublin, and touring opera companies pay for opera by playing *The Lily of Killarney* to packed houses on Saturday evenings. The caubeen has been displaced by the peaked cap, worn over the left eye, and the twirling of the shillelagh by hitching-up the trousers. The essentials of the Lever-Boucicault school remain; only the appearances have been changed, and even the appearances have not been improved.

George Moore's work is detested and disparaged in Ireland not because of his religious, political or artistic views, not even because of *Hail and Farewell* and *The Confessions of a Young Man*, but because the mirror he held up to Irish nature did not reflect what Ireland desired to have reflected. "Erin, the tear and the smile in thine eyes" is what is desired because it is what is believed. Rollicking humour followed by a very copious tear-flow is still popularly believed to be "true to life," and anything that confirms that view is certain to succeed with the Irish public. Bernard Shaw is no more liked

in Ireland than is the late J. M. Synge, because their Halls of Mirrors reflected things that are not believed to be in Irish nature and therefore *are* not. Christy Mahon or Larry Doyle could not be true when there was Myles na Coppaleen, Danny Mann and *Paddy the next Best Thing* to testify to the contrary. Irish heads are not so hard as Shaw suggested—heads and hearts are still as soft as Lever and Boucicault believed in their days. The happy-go-lucky rolling stone with a smile for life's little ironies and a tear for life's little joys is still the darling Irishman of the Irish stage as he is of the English. He curses a little in the twentieth century as he hitches his trousers—but so the times change manners even though the primal strength of heredity may be found in every line of the figure. The stage Irishman is dead, but his son succeeds him. He still plays the fool for the amusement of the nations, including his own, and for the profit of the theatre. "The spirit still lives on in the men of to-day," as the song so very aptly puts it; and it is the spirit, not the make-up, that must be the criterion. The spirit of Lady Gregory is the spirit of Lever rather than the spirit of Shaw.

"Comedy is drama that studies universal interests and depicts their meaning or influence, quite as certainly as does the tragic method, but it enlightens us through our sense of laughter," says Professor Gilbert Norwood, "not of tears or horror. Its superficial counterpart is farce—the employment of the ludicrous to engage our attention in what does not touch our own heart or interests." Comedy is the humour of character; farce is the humour of situation. *John Bull's Other Island* is comedy because its humour springs directly from the contact of the personalities of Doyle and Broadbent with Ireland. *Spreading the News* is farce because its entire structure depends upon the deafness of Mrs. Tarpey. Had Mrs. Tarpey heard correctly, the entire series of ludicrous incidents would have been obviated

and Bartley Fallon could never have figured as the typical Irishman upon whom all the troubles of the world "are sure to come"; Fallon and Haffigan are brothers in affliction from the lips out, they are both easily recognisable as the whining type of Irishman which is more common than national dignity and prestige can afford to tolerate. They are both comic figures, but while the laugh is at Haffigan's shrewdness, it is at Fallon's cringing imbecility. It is possible, however, that if Haffigan had Mrs. Fallon for a wife he, too, might have been a fit object for Swift's ironic benevolence. It is possible to pity Bartley Fallon, but he simply must be laughed at. He is a figure of farce, not of comedy. Lady Gregory's humour in these early plays is the humour of situation, of farce, not that of comedy and of character. Her comic creatures have "*characters*," not character; they have mouths, but it is difficult to believe that they have brains.

"Comedy and not tragedy was wanted at our theatre to put beside the high poetic work, *The King's Threshold*, *The Shadowy Waters*, *On Baile's Strand*, *The Well of the Saints*; and I let laughter have its way with the little play," says Lady Gregory of *Spreading the News*; "I could only think of Bartley Fallon as dull-witted or silly or ignorant." Comedy may spring from ignorance or silliness, but not from dullness of wits; and Bartley Fallon is as dull-witted as are too many of Lady Gregory's people. It is easier to laugh at a fool than to laugh with the wise, and Lady Gregory chose the easier way. Bartley Fallon, Hyacinth Halvey, Davideen and the inhabitants of Cloon are direct descendants of *Handy Andy*, observed with the same condescending detatchment, born about the same time as Shaw's Larry Doyle and Meredith's O'Donnell. At a time when pure comedy was being written about Irishmen Lady Gregory chose to confound comedy with farce, and to play down to the very low conception that Irish people had of themselves. Com-

pared with Bartley Fallon or Hyacinth Halvey, Christy Mahon is a hero indeed; yet Fallon and Halvey were laughed at and Mahon was howled down. Lever, Lover and Boucicault are more firmly incorporated with the Irish mind and temperament than has yet been admitted, or allowed for, by Irish critics. The attitude of the Abbey Theatre audience and the popular applause of Lady Gregory's farces bring out that fact with astounding vividness.

Before she began to write plays, or to take her very important part in Irish theatrical affairs, Lady Gregory had accumulated vast knowledge of the thoughts, beliefs and customs of western Ireland. She is a native of Galway, and for the greater part of her life she has lived in that county. She is a welcome and well-known visitor to the cottages of the county which she has visited for many years gathering the folk-stories. She has availed herself of every opportunity for intercourse with the people; but she was the "county," and it cannot be said that she succeeded in understanding the people. Their speech she knew and understood, but their minds she did not penetrate. She saw them from without, from above, and as her outlook on life is essentially comic, she saw them as figures of fun. "There is nothing in literature quite like her bewildered peasantry," a friendly critic has said, but neither is there anything in life. They are the product of a rich humanity, a keen sense of the ridiculous and an unconscious snobbery, served with a garnishing of dialect which is magnificently effective for stage uses. How effective that dialect is she has demonstrated in her translations from Molière and Goldoni. The comedies of Molière have been naturalised in the dialect of the Kiltartan peasantry, which gives to them their finest setting in English. That Lady Gregory has kinship with Molière there can be little doubt. It is, however, a kinship of outlook only which brings nothing of the wide mentality of Molière to her

original work. The fine subtlety of Molière is sought vainly in Lady Gregory's work. She loves broad situations and characters sketched in bold lines, each embodying some simple fundamental human quality. Her creatures are extravagantly simple (there is no Haffigan guile in them) and exquisitely helpless. They have none of the shrewd cunning that is the mark of the peasant in Ireland as elsewhere.

Lady Gregory has written twenty-eight plays, of which twenty-five have been produced at the Abbey Theatre. She has been writing plays for twenty-one years, in addition to her splendid work as a Director of the Theatre, a biographer, historian and folk-lorist. Her industry and energy are things to marvel at, somewhat resembling those of Benavente and Pirandello. Only her most recent play, *The Story Brought by Brigid*, remains unpublished, so her plays can be studied by those who have not seen them on the stage in the seven volumes which contain them. Her translations from Molière, Goldoni and Hyde have also been published, but her translation of Sudermann's *Teja* is still unpublished, though it was acted in 1908. Her first volume, *Seven Short Plays*, contains her most popular and much of her typical work. *Spreading the News*, *Hyacinth Halvey*, *The Jackdaw*, and *The Workhouse Ward* are farcical comedies of the kind already referred to. All have a strong undercurrent of satire, and perhaps *The Workhouse Ward* says more about Partition and the Boundary than politicians know. *The Rising of the Moon* is a magnificent comedy of abnormal political conditions. The Sergeant's choice where duty and sympathy conflict is difficult, and the artistry by which Lady Gregory enables the Ballad-singer to awaken the Sergeant's slumbering patriotism is a masterpiece of dramatic technique. This and *The Gaol Gate* are Lady Gregory's highest achievements. *The Gaol Gate* has all the tragic intensity of *Riders to the Sea*, reaching a climax in the triumphant

caoin of grief and joy with which the mother greets the news of her son's fidelity and death. The laugh in *The Rising of the Moon* is with the wheedling Ballad-singer as he induces the Sergeant to permit his escape. In *The Gaol Gate* all the elements of doubt and uncertainty, pity and helplessness are combined to make one of the great tragic experiences of the modern theatre. *The Travelling Man* is a little morality play, based upon an Irish rural custom which all tramps take advantage of, glimpsing that mystical strain in Lady Gregory which has, so far, failed to secure triumphant expression.

Some of the most interesting, and the most successful, of Lady Gregory's work will be found in the two volumes of *Irish Folk-History Plays* published in 1912. Her preparation for this work had been long and useful, resulting in the publication of many volumes of folk-lore and mythology. The *Folk-History Plays* are attempts to translate the subjects of classical tragedy into terms of folk drama, and in the Kiltartan dialect Lady Gregory had a medium of expression excellently suited to the purpose. Of the six plays three are called tragedies and three tragic-comedies, grouped in separate volumes under these titles. Five of the plays were produced at the Abbey Theatre between 1905 and 1911. The first of the *Folk-History Plays*, the third of her plays, to be acted was the tragedy *Kincora*. This was produced in 1905 and revived, after very drastic revision, in 1909. In its earlier version the play was incoherent, and more melodrama than tragedy: the revision made it more coherent, but it was still melodrama. "I had had from the beginning a vision of historical plays being sent by us through all the counties of Ireland. For to have a real success and to come into the life of the country, one must touch a real and eternal emotion, and history comes next to religion in our country." *Kincora* was her first attempt to make the vision a reality. It has had several successors, but they have not become part

of the life of the country. The history plays have been produced only rarely, and at long intervals, and consequently Lady Gregory is popularly known only as the writer of little laughter-provoking plays. This is regrettable because her best " comedies " are folk-history plays, and her best tragedy, *Grania*, has never been acted.

Kincora takes an episode in the history of Ireland for its theme. Brian Boru, King of Munster, meets Malachi, the High King, at his palace of Kincora in an effort to arrange mutually satisfactory terms of peace. Sitric and Maelmora oppose the terms by which Brian and Malachi divide the country into two kingdoms. At the battle of Glenmana the Kings are victorious, and Malachi would condemn Sitric and Maelmora to death. Malachi's Queen, Gormleith, mother and sister of Sitric and Maelmora, persuades Brian to champion her relatives. Brian overcomes Malachi and receives as part of the spoils of victory the hand of Gormleith, " the Queen of Tara must not lose the crown of Tara." Gormleith was a captured Dane who, as Malachi foresaw, could not exist without strife. With her son, Sitric, she joins forces with the invading Danes. Brian defeats the invaders at the battle of Clontarf, but is himself slain in the hour of victory, his spirit crushed by the treachery of Gormleith. In the story are all the possibilities of classical tragedy, but high tragedy has not been achieved. That is not to say that the play is without merit as, in addition to its attraction as a pioneer play, it acts well and revivifies a period of Irish history which might attract and defeat a Hardy.

The tragedy of *Dervorgilla* is, next to *Grania*, the best of the tragic Folk-History Plays. Its single act is devoted to " the swift, unflinching, terrible judgment of the young." The ex-Queen of Breffni is in retirement at the Abbey of Mellifont when the songs of a passing minstrel bring before her the tale of her past misdeeds. The minstrel is driven into the English camp by her

servant, who loses his life in the effort. The servant's widow, in her grief-stricken outburst, reveals the identity of Dervorgilla. In contemptuous resentment the people return to her the prizes which she had presented at their sports. Dervorgilla submits : " Do not be afraid to give back my gifts, do not separate yourself from your companions for my sake. For there is little of my life but is spent, and there has come upon me this day all the pain of the world and its anguish, seeing and knowing that a deed once done has no undoing, and the lasting trouble my unfaithfulness has brought upon you and your children for ever." No audience could remain unmoved as the tragedy of the unhappy Queen unfolds itself ; there is strength, power and nobility in it which will bear comparison with the history plays of Ibsen, Strindberg or Hauptmann.

But *Grania* is Lady Gregory's highest achievement in historical tragedy. *Grania* is superior to *The Vikings at Helgeland, Gustavus Vasa* or *Florian Geyer* in its emotional content and its poetic intensity, and it can bear the comparison with Synge's *Deirdre of the Sorrows* to which it has been subjected. Deirdre has had her admirers in plenty, Yeats, Synge, A. E., but Grania has, if the Moore-Yeats play of 1901 be ignored, had only Lady Gregory who never succumbed to the charms of Deirdre. Grania is to marry Finn, but she prefers the youthful Diarmuid, with whom she flees and wanders for seven years. Diarmuid refuses to become her lover, remaining faithful to his allegiance to Finn until circumstances compel them to live for a week as a wedded pair. When Diarmuid has surrendered, Grania turns from him, having discovered charm apparently only in his resistance. They are about to quarrel when Finn arrives disguised as a beggar to accuse Diarmuid of treachery. Touched by remorse Diarmuid rushes away to prove his constancy and is slain. Finn regains the wayward affection of Grania, who heals her wounded

pride by becoming " an old man's darling." " I think," says Lady Gregory, " I turned to Grania because so many have written about sad, lovely Deirdre, who when overtaken by sorrow made no good battle to the last. Grania had more power of will, and for good or evil twice took the shaping of her life into her own hands." In this three-act tragedy of Love and Jealousy there are only the three persons concerned, and in falling under the " fascination of things difficult " Lady Gregory achieved her masterpiece. It is often said that the one-act play is Lady Gregory's strong point, and it is true that she has failed more often in her long than in her short plays; but *Grania* is a Three-act play, and its success in characterisation, dialogue and construction is a crushing refutation of the statement. Why *Grania* has never been staged is something of a mystery when the long list of silly, senseless, useless plays that the Abbey Theatre has produced is remembered. A masterpiece is allowed to rest in the covers of a book while the drivel of *Duty, Partition, The Young Man from Rathmines* and much of Lady Gregory's own is staged!

The Story Brought by Brigid is a folk version of the story of the Passion which faithfully follows the scriptural rendering. As a stage piece it must be counted a failure because of its incoherence. The *caoining* is too insistent, breaking the tragic story into fragments, and too monotonous to be dramatic; and Brigid wanders into the story like the anachronism she is. Drastic revision made an acting play of *Kincora*; so perhaps *The Story Brought by Brigid* may be redeemed in the same way.

In political satire Lady Gregory is strong; her best comedy effects are satirical as her best comedies are *The Canavans, The White Cockade* and *The Image.* In the accommodating cowardice of the miller Canavan is satirised an aspect of Irish character too rarely subjected to such treatment. Peter Canavan is the sixteenth century ancestor of Jeremiah Dempsey. King James II.

is the comic subject of *The White Cockade*, and as a laughter-maker that craven runaway is difficult to equal. As comedy *The White Cockade* is Lady Gregory's greatest achievement. Its satire is as bitter as it is deserved, and its humour is spontaneous and unfettered. *The Deliverer* is also bitter satire, but it is not humorous—the allegorical disguise is too thin to cover the great tragedy of Parnell. *The Image*, too, is satirical. While the factions in Ireland wrangle, the artists die and the material things of life are either stolen by others or wasted. *General John Regan* is based upon the same story, but while George Birmingham tries only to raise a laugh, and succeeds, Lady Gregory tries to stimulate thought as much as laughter, and only just fails. *The Image* is nevertheless good comedy beyond comparison with *General John Regan.*

The plays contained in *New Comedies* are Lady Gregory's worst work. They are her contribution to the drivel which has found its way to the stage of the Abbey Theatre. The futilities of *Coats* and *The Full Moon* make *Handy Andy* by comparison a great work of realist art. *Hanrahan's Oath*, *Shanwalla* and *The Wrens* are little better; they as certainly add nothing to Lady Gregory's reputation as her *Three Wonder Plays* and *The Golden Apple* most certainly do That strain of mysticism which first manifested itself in *The Travelling Man* comes very close to triumph in *The Dragon* and *The Golden Apple.* *The Golden Apple* is a fairy play surpassing in its simple magnificence the civilised and sophisticated *Peter Pan* and *Mary Rose* and worthy of rank with *The Blue Bird.* All the best qualities of Lady Gregory's work are exhibited in this play—humour, naiveté, humanity and faith in the fairy world which Barrie lacks and Maeterlinck possesses. "A play for Kiltartan children" it is called, but a play for the world's humanity it is.

When all her work has been studied a few plays stand out :—*The Rising of the Moon*, *The Gaol Gate*, *The White*

Cockade, *The Canavans*, *Grania*, *The Dragon* and *The Golden Apple*. Seven out of her twenty-eight plays—just one quarter—leave a lasting impression. The Lever-Lover-Boucicault farces fade quickly; it is said that they nearly emptied the theatre, though that perhaps is unjust as it is untrue. It is certain, however, that Lady Gregory's reputation as a dramatist can base no foundation upon them. They may continue to make audiences laugh; but that can be only so long as audiences, too, are dominated by the Lever-Lover-Boucicault conception of the Irish people.

The most superficial examination of Lady Gregory's plays must draw attention to her most obvious limitation, which is the lack of imaginative power. Where she has been able to draw from life she has been invariably successful, even the fairy and wonder plays are drawn from life directly, and it is impossible to deny that her dialogue is generally interesting and often masterly. It has very little of the poetry that Synge's dialogue has, but it has a rhythm of its own which is as pleasant as it is distinctive. It is the custom now-a-days to laugh at "Kiltartanese," but that is because so many people who were without qualification of any kind fell to the temptation to write "peasant" plays. Lady Gregory's dialogue is crisp, idiomatic, pleasant, rich and real. It keeps close to the level of the peasant speech which she has listened to in the cottages of Galway, and consequently it has not the high poetic quality of Synge's more imaginative selection and variation of the peasant speech. Dialogue is Lady Gregory's strongest point as imagination is her weakest. But talk alone will not make a great play, and the bulk of Lady Gregory's work is talk only. She can be as tedious and as dull as the worst in the Abbey Theatre's repertoire, but she has also reached the heights of the highest. She has not the qualities which would enable her to remain on the heights; her material is too thin and anaemic for the rarefied

atmosphere. She is an observer, a notetaker, among the people rather than a sharer of their lives, and unconsciously her attitude towards the people is somewhat snobbish. They are *the people*, she is *the gentry*, and no conscious effort to reach down can be quite successful. That is why so much of her work must be classed with the Lever tradition and thought of with the later novels of George Birmingham. Lady Gregory is as much an outsider as is Birmingham, and her popularity in Ireland is as great as his. Birmingham must be the " best-seller " in Ireland amongst the Irish writers of to-day, and the bulk of Lady Gregory's dramatic work is comparable only with the imbecilities of *The Major's Niece* or *Lalage's Lovers*.

It is a striking tribute to the strength of a few Irish writers of the last century that they succeeded in moulding the conception of Irish life and behaviour to their own models. It is the neglected Edgeworth, Carleton and Le Fanu who might have proven better literary ancestors as they are better literary artists. But things are as they are, and we must recognise that the Lever-Lover-Boucicault school has not only imposed its conception of Ireland upon the world, it has imposed it also upon Ireland. Time will probably produce a new conception, and signs suggest that a new conception is gradually forming in the national mind. When the process is complete Larry Doyle will be recognised as no less Irish than Christy Mahon, while Bartley Fallon, Hyacinth Halvey, Malachi Naughton, Davideen and Cracked Mary will share with Charles O'Malley and Handy Andy a small space reserved for variations from the normal. Pathology will deal with them kindly, and the stage will know them no more. *Grania*, *The Canavans*, *The White Cockade*, *The Golden Apple*, *The Dragon*, *The Gaol Gate* and *The Rising of the Moon* will give Lady Gregory an enduring, if not an immortal, place amongst the dramatists of her day and a leading place amongst Irish dramatists.

ANDREW E. MALONE.

MIDDLE AGES, RENASCENCE, AND A SAINT

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J., M.A.

THE Middle Ages, in their characteristic religious and social aspects, possessed two great secrets—that of love and that of joy. And these were keys that opened for them the inmost shrines of beauty. They were distinctive of the Middle Ages in contrast with the succeeding and supplanting Renascence.

We propose to offer in support of these propositions certain considerations and arguments to which we have been led (we freely confess it) by the efforts of certain recent writers partly to deny and partly to obscure them. These writers, on their side, seem to have been animated either by an active dislike of certain real or imagined qualities of the medieval spirit, or by an excessive admiration of qualities which they discover in the Renascence. Now, it is extremely difficult to discuss profitably general views that regard entire epochs of history, and it is with a full recognition of this fact and with a disclaimer of anything like completeness that we venture on a brief review—a setting forth of certain points that seem to establish the claims above formulated on behalf of the Middle Ages and to reduce *pro tanto* the high estimates that have often been maintained of the rival era that is called Renascence or (in French) Renaissance.[1]

"Love was indeed the characteristic of the Middle Ages; but Beauty was the study, the glory of the Renascence." Such is the concession and the claim of one enthusiastic writer. The distinction made seems to

[1] The recent works that we have chiefly in mind are Rachel A. Taylor's *Aspects of the Renaissance* (Grant Richards, 12s. 6d.) and G. G. Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion*, Vol. I. (Cambridge University Press, 20s.). One is eloquent, the other is learned: we wish we could give either the praise of being an impartial witness or a safe guide.

rest on inadequate or false notions of what "love" and "beauty" are and what they each suppose.

Beauty, in its higher manifestations, requires soul to animate it: it cannot be bound to mere clay: it must be (progressively) human, spiritual, God-like. But soul without love is something monstrous, and therefore beauty without love is something monstrous. Beauty requires order, harmony, obedience; nothing can bring these ministers into her service but love. Human relations emptied of love are sheer ugliness. In the palace of Art, the soul, keen for beauty but alien from love, becomes a pitiful thing, imprisoned in her loneliness, visited not by heavenly visions but by "horrible nightmares."

To the Middle Ages some keys to the realm of beauty may have been wanting, but they possessed that of love: Christian charity on the whole dominated them. Under its broad sunlight the centuries between 1100 and 1400 brought forth works that rise to the highest concepts of beauty, and they succeeded in a signal degree in making that beauty the property and possession of all. It may be easy to show that their concepts of human happiness were very imperfect in some directions. But it is far less easy to show that any age had superior concepts. Equally difficult is it to show that any age succeeded better in fulfilling its own dreams for the general good of humanity.

Let us glance at the evidence that the realm of Art can afford us. Art, so often during three centuries cited *sub poena* for the Renascence, does she not, when honestly interrogated, tell a plain tale to the higher glory of the earlier time?

The Middle Ages owned the great epic cycles and stories. Let us not conceive of epic literature as necessarily blossoming in solitary and unique flowers such as the *Aeneid*, the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, the *Henriade*. In truth, have not such as these been sometimes somewhat artificial blooms? The epic impulse will rather evince its vigour in a free, widespread creative energy, and will thereby testify

to the energy, sense of beauty and joy in life of the age and people in whom it dwells. What, then, shall we conclude as to the wealth of the Middle Ages in these qualities? The tales that richly grew and intertangled themselves around the names of Arthur and Charlemagne, of the Cid, of Cuchullain, of Brandan and Fursey and Tundal, of the Nibelung heroes; the sagas, the eddas, the *chansons de geste*; the Divina Commedia—these were medieval creations; and what, after all, can the Renascence set up against these? "Shakespeare," some one will say. But Shakespeare is unduly cited to glorify the Renascence. Small (if real) is its share in him, his participation in it. His greatness is built four-square upon medieval religion and philosophy: it is scarcely touched by the Renascence's most proper characteristics—its paganism and its libertinism. Carlyle is not the only non-Catholic writer who has confessed the truth that Shakespeare and his period (when truly "his" period) are a blossom of medieval Catholicism.

Those ages which made Dante and Shakespeare were ages of unity of belief. From unity of belief sprang a rounded harmony and social unity in the prevalent conception of life. Hence, as already suggested, the peculiar *ethos* of those ages is not to be specially sought in works of genius which perpetuate individual names, nor even in the development of individual arts. That *ethos*, so far as it is traceable, is to be sought above all in those assemblages and *foci* of the medieval arts which were the medieval churches. It is to be found in the parish church, the Benedictine minster, the humble chapel of town or country, but above all in the great cathedrals. We have not here to dwell on their admitted architectural glories. We can take for granted the praises which so many generations of critics, otherwise divergent, have bestowed upon them. We rather desire to point out the evidence they give of something excellent and valuable in the *milieu* that produced them. Each church, grand or lowly,

with its included equipment down to the smallest detail, was the compendious expression of a noble faith and hope and charity, also of a social and widely-diffused artistic impulse. It was the creation of the people themselves, sprung from a need of their own souls, raised and decorated not so much by their money as by their very hands. They remained its guardians, renovators and (to no small extent) administrators. The astonishing wealth of genuinely artistic effort which the mere ruins of medieval churches still bring before us was the work mainly of unrecorded and humble artificers. The solid and fine sculpture in stone, the wood-carving for gallery, choir and screens, the painting of delicate figures upon these screens, the frescoes on the walls, the endless sun-pierced pictures in stained glass, the engraving of the monumental brasses, the embroidery of the vestments and the banners—all this vast aggregate of artistic achievement was executed by the local craftsmen of town and even of village. It was in the age of the Renascence, it was because the paganism of the Renascence played into the hands of Protestant iconoclasm, that those disgraceful and ruinous spoliations took place of which Germany, the Low Countries, England, and other lands became the scene. Renascence and Reformation were of one mind as to the ruin of the old order, and of one effect as to certain moral and material ravages. Under the aegis of the "beauty-loving" and "art-loving" Renascence began the starving-out of art-instinct and art-capacity in populations like those of England. An obliteration was effected, a clean sweep made, of beautiful things created and accumulated by centuries; and—what was even worse—the hope of replacing them faded with the spirit and capacity to replace them. Thenceforth (as the Rev. Augustus Jessop puts it) "King Whitewash and Queen Ugliness ruled supreme for centuries. With the communal feeling for religion and art, Beauty faded from the ways of ordinary life, to be thought a dream or a dilettantism."

Let us quote a modern thinker, who can hardly be suspected of undue medievalism—Gerhardt Hauptmann, the well-known German dramatist. A severe critic of modern social conditions, he finds that the sterility of the modern soul in the matter of art dates back to the birth of the ill-omened twins Renascence and Reformation. With them began the casting out of tradition and the over-development of individualism. Then did an Ego without training, reverence, self-restraint or humility enter upon a career of destruction, which has not yet run all its course. He writes :—

> In order to make room for a small, mean plant of personal life, we destroyed a whole garden of fancy and hewed down a virgin forest of aesthetic ideas. We went even as far in the insanity of our weakness as to throw out of the garden of our souls the fruitful soil that had been accumulating for thousands of years, or else we ploughed it under sterile clay. We have to-day an intellectual culture that is well protected by a hedge of personality, but within this hedge we have only delicate dwarf trees and unworthy plants—the poorer progeny of great predecessors. We have telegraph-lines, bridges and railroads, but there grow no churches and cathedrals —only sentry-boxes and barracks.[1]

Neither the love of learning nor the love of beauty with which the Renascence has been abundantly credited saved the universities and the schools—any more than the churches and the monasteries—of the sixteenth century from pillages worthy of Vandals. The destruction of books was " incredibly enormous."[2] Bonfires were made of precious volumes and manuscripts. Maskell calculates that the loss of liturgical books alone—and many of these were, of course, of rare beauty and value—approached in England alone a total of a quarter of a million. An eye-witness of Edward the Sixth's time tells how he saw the

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[1] For this and many more relevant texts and references, see Dr. J. J. Walsh's valuable book *The Thirteenth the Greatest of Centuries.*

[2] The expression used by a writer in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (Vol. III., c. iii.), who is not inclined to judge severely either Renascence or Reformation, but tells well the story of some of their effects.

leaves of ruined folios blown about by the winds in Oxford quadrangles. Whole libraries that had taken centuries to collect disappeared in a day. From the college chapels the precious vestments were carried off to be turned into women's gowns. Their statues, carvings and stained glass were hacked and smashed away—a process to be repeated in the next century by the triumphant Puritanism of the Civil Wars.

The land of the triumphant Renascence was undoubtedly Italy. It was not side-tracked by a jealous "Reformation." It met with only too little opposition from an Hebraic Puritanism. But nevertheless it found on the whole more valuable and potent correctives than in the North. The Renascence in Italy was taken up with various degrees of enthusiasm by popes, great churchmen and some of the noblest-minded laymen; with the mixed result that while the Church suffered no small detriment from the contact, the movement itself gained in depth and vigour.

The brilliancy of its work in Italy needs no comment; its successes there have sufficiently dazzled the world. But the general balance against its spirit and influence remains, in Italy as elsewhere, a heavy one. It took up, it fostered the mentality of revolt, contempt for tradition, individualism *à outrance*, to which many causes, including corruptions in the Church, had given birth. And it set these disruptive tendencies in the downward path of a return to heathenism. The revival, with enthusiasm, of the study of Greek and Roman literature, the evaluation of the classic spirit in art, the re-capture of sympathy with what was best in the Greek or the Roman spirit—that was a "humanism" highly capable of furthering human progress and enlightenment. Actually, the humanism of Italy (and indeed, in their measure, of other lands), so far as it was tempered by the survival or emphatic revival of the deeper human and Christian ideas, won for itself no small meed of praise from grave judges.

Such humanists as Vittorino da Feltre, that true educator of youth, as Michael Angelo in his best moments, such patrons as Pope Nicholas V show us humanism as the genius of enlightenment. They stimulate us to think what the *élan vital* of the Renascence might have produced had it not been so largely turned into ways of triviality, grossness and revolt. But so turned it was, and that even in the very citadels and watch-towers of Christianity. In Rome itself the images of the heathen Pantheon were disentombed amid rapturous enthusiasm which sometimes turned to fanatical adoration. The language and poetry of the Church are despised and replaced by those of Cicero and Horace. Mythology invades the sanctuary: Christ is called "son of Jupiter," the Blessed Virgin is a "goddess," nuns are "vestals," the Cardinals "Conscript Fathers"; the sacred Passion is described in terms and parallels taken from the death of Socrates and the self-devotion of Quintus Curtius. One humanist burns a lamp before the bust of Plato; another—a priest—secures the purity of his Latin style by the abandonment of his breviary.

What was the net gain, if any, to art; what to man's deeper and more serious interests? To begin with the latter—there can be no doubt that profound and lasting injury was done. The attempt to revive pagan religion and philosophy on the ruins of Christianity was at once more hopeless and more harmful than that of Julian a thousand years earlier. With regard to that famous attempt, some one once expressed a regret that Julian's restorations of the pagan temples and liturgy did not go farther and enjoy fuller material success than it did, as thus the intrinsic weakness and hopelessness of that false renascence would have been demonstrated the more strongly. But if already in the first four centuries the old paganisms

> Grew weak, for killing Truth had glared on them;

if Julian's attempt was hopeless, how much more hopeless

the paganizing propaganda of an era which saw all around it a new spiritual (and even material) world built up by Christianity! Those old religions in their day had not lacked their elements of virtue and healing: millions of men might accept them with sincerity. Ungospelled humanity might profitably sit at the feet of Socrates or Cicero, just as these teachers recognised divine whispers in the promptings of δαίμων or genius. But to attempt to set up anew such oracles as the guides of the world after fifteen centuries of Christianity was an insult and a wrong to the human intelligence.

Having once caught a vision of a faith and hope, love and sacrifice, higher than Porch or Academy had ever taught, men cannot be as if they had never known them. The neo-pagan is likely to lose, with his Christian ideals, his hold on natural morality as well. The names of many a well-known figure of the sixteenth century—literary, political, social—might be quoted to remind us that the loss of Christian principles leaves us men whose abilities are equal to those of illustrious pagans, while their morals are worse.

But (it is asserted) the Renascence, whatever may have been its ethical shortcomings, was the most joyful, gay and brilliant of eras. Is this true? And is it true that the Middle Ages were on the whole a melancholy time, and melancholy because of their religion? We have been assured in eloquent terms that this was so. The paganism of the Renascence lent itself to an unconstrained *joie-de-vivre*, while in the Middle Ages the *joie-de-vivre* was overgloomed by the Four Last Things. "Excommunications darkened the air with their bat-wings: the *Dies Irae* chanted hoarsely of coming doom in season and out of season."

In the first place, as regards the Middle Ages the contention seems singularly astray; both major and minor premises are false. The Middle Ages were joyful, and joyful because of their religion.

Nowhere is there to be found a sunnier brightness than in the sunny places (and they are everywhere) of medieval literature and art. Take the lyrists at their best—trouvères, troubadours, minnesingers, sirventists, sonneteers—" suddenly, as if at sunrise, the whole earth had grown vocal and musical." The phrase is Carlyle's. That sunrise was a time, beyond other times, when princes and prelates, emperors and squires, the wise and the simple, men, women and children, all sang and rhymed, or delighted in hearing songs and rhymes. Believers sang of faith ; lovers of love ; knights described feats of arms and war ; the spring, beauty, gaiety were subjects that could never tire ; the tales of epic actions carried away every hearer, the more surely the more strongly they were painted. It was the most bird-like, spring-like, songful of human epochs. Imperfect as musical *technique* then was, the playing of musical instruments seems to have been common and popular in a degree not equalled before or since. Music perpetually sounds throughout their poetry : take up Chaucer, for example, and note how often he refers to " fithele and gay sautrie," to pipe, rote and carol.

Such warblings from every spray, with lesser twitterings not less alive with life and joy—what better evidence could be given of generally-diffused happiness and gladness ? Neither Renascence nor Reformation nor both together can yield us any such evidence. It was Catholic Christianity that stirred thus in the veins of medieval Europe. " As the pillars and domes of their churches," wrote Tieck, " encircled the flock of believers, so did religion, as the supreme thing, encircle poetry and reality, while every heart in accordant love humbled itself before her."

It was the primal error of the Renascence to base its joyfulness on illusion. It revived antique fables to evoke from them a new idolatry without heart or sincerity. The Middle Ages said with the Apostle : " I know whom I have believed and I am assured ; therefore do I abound

with joy in every tribulation." The Renascence found truth unpleasant and tried to forget or deny it. It was a characteristic *boutade*, but also a telling satire on the age, when its most brilliant poet cried out :—

> Magnanima menzogna, hor quand' è il vero
> Si bello, che si possa a te preporre ?
> O splendid Falsehood, when can Truth e'er be
> So fair as to entice men's hearts from thee ? (Ariosto.)

In the realm of Arts and Letters, the Renascence—the unmitigated Renascence—reveals everywhere the withering effects of severance from the roots of Truth—withering, in spite of intense enthusiasms and a fierce desire to make the most of life. Myths in place of realized truth can hardly satisfy the artist better than the man. Zeus and Pallas, Mars and Venus are dead ; if their *simulacra* are raised anew upon mock altars, will it be in the interests of truth or goodness, and not rather in the service—at best of an idle dilettantism—at worst of human vices ? Torn from its religious and national roots, Art must become more superficial and soulless, will busy itself with forms rather than ideas, with matter instead of spirit, with *technique* rather than inspiration. Are we not, indeed, sketching what actually happened in the decadence from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century ? The artist tends to grow more isolated, capricious and selfish. Ultimately he will learn to pose as the *grand incompris*. For, in truth, his works no longer interest the multitude. He has passed into the service of the despot, the patron, the connoisseur, the man who can pay for flattery. Division reigns. Formerly efforts combined, general yet organized work was the rule ; the great cathedral was the type : there the Church inspired the efforts and harmonized the aims and doings of a great family of artists and humble people. In spite of wars and discords *cor unum et anima una* animated and evolved a continuity (often throughout centuries) of beautiful works done by and for God's people. But the atheism and individualism of the

Renascence sends off architecture, sculpture, painting, and the minor arts to walk their separate roads. The common man is no longer the sharer in a common inspiration, but a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. Beauty is more and more severed from daily life.

In literature, while it would be absurd to overlook or question the merit of individual works which the Renascence may claim, yet here too isolation and lawlessness tended to drying-up and decay. Compare the longer poems of typical Renascence writers such as Ariosto, Pilci or Boiardo—cynical and hopeless—with the full life of the greater poems of the Middle Ages—or even of pagan antiquity. As for lyric poetry, the revived Latin verse cultivated by the Politians, Bembos, Vidas gave the world nothing nearly comparable to the *Dies Irae* or the *Stabat Mater*, to the hymns of Thomas Aquinas or of Bernard of Morlaix. The pursuit of classic learning and classic reproduction led the paganizing humanists into formalism instead of creation, minute triviality instead of philosophic culture, envious mutual railings in place of unselfish love of learning. A genuine democracy of culture, in spite of the non-existence of such precious helps as the art of printing, had been attained in the churches, church-schools and monasteries of the Middle Ages; it had begun as far back as the abbeys of Ireland, the palace-school of Charlemagne, the royal monastery of Suger. But it had no place in the exclusiveness, the courtier or *coterie* spirit of the Medicean humanists. Their unpopularity was the counterpart and consequence of their unreality. "Throughout," says Dr. Saintsbury—no unsympathetic judge, "the fault and the mischief of the Humanist position are seen in the strange unrealities of many kinds which mar their vernacular and their 'regular' work alike. Everything is out of focus." And he illustrates from the singular efforts made by those writers to paganize the vocabulary of Christianity itself.[1] Lacking

[1] *The Earlier Renaissance*, p. 13.

sympathy with the ideals of the Christian multitude, the Renascence literature, even in such things as its popular tales, fails almost as often on its human as on its divine side. It grows into something worse than unsympathetic, exhibiting "that combination of indecency and cruelty which is the most odious temper of the human soul, and which is far too much in evidence throughout the work of that kind and time."[1]

But we may conclude with pleasanter considerations. There was (we have already noted it) a wise, mild, moderate Renascence, which has set its impress on humanity through certain works of imperishable value and merit. Along with Caesar Borgia and Machiavelli, with Poggio and von Hutten, with fanatical grammarians and poetic debauchees, there were men and women who combined the adventures of the intellect with a steadfast obedience, love of beauty with a pure asceticism, learning with sweetness, ardour with gentleness. For such happy compromisers some recent panegyrists of the Cinquecento have but little admiration. One of them, indeed, refers to their ways as "a baroque Jesuitry." The word "baroque" has recently been defined by someone as expressing "extravagance without enthusiasm"; now, for the matter in hand, the converse would seem to suit better. The moderate Renascence was enthusiasm without extravagance. As for "Jesuitry," it counted, the fact cannot be denied, among its ornaments many Jesuits. It was the age of such Jesuits as Xavier, Canisius, Suarez, Strada, Mariana, Lessius, Bellarmine, together with many poets and *littérateurs* of lighter weight. On the whole these men of the moderate Renascence, even from a merely "humanistic" point of view, were personages of some account.

But to find the ideal type of the Christianized Renascence—of the Renascence brought into beautiful harmony with everything which its arrogant pedants and

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 162.

showy rascals had antagonized, it is not to any Jesuit we will turn, but to one who was, indeed, formed largely by Ignatius Loyola and his Company, but who, nevertheless, stands detached and alone in the rounded beauty of his character, intellect, culture and saintship. That man was Francis de Sales, Bishop of Geneva and Doctor of the Church.

Than him humanism can claim no more amiable disciple and representative. "A secret sympathy, a sort of affinity," Dom Mackey, his biographer and editor, has remarked, "brings close the great soul of Francis to the patriarchs of philosophy—Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, Epictetus." In him, indeed, was fulfilled the Greek type of the καλοκἀγαθὸς—the ideal man of Pericles, Thucydides, Plutarch—the perfect citizen, trained into polish and refinement, not into effeminacy, skilled in reasoning and discourse, balanced in faculties, prompt to public service, averse to extremes. At the same time he might stand for a spiritualized representative of Chaucer's medieval knight, who

> Loved chivalrie,
> Trouthe and honóur, fredom and curteisie . . .
> And of his port as meeke as is a mayde,
> He never yet no vileynye ne sayde
> In al his lyf unto no maner wight.
> He was a verray parfit, gentil knyght.

He was, finally, the cultivated, enlightened gentleman of his own time; a pioneer, after devastating civil wars, of gentler ways, who brought piety from her stern retreats in cloister and hermitage and accustomed men to behold her clothed in homelier graces, an inmate of camps, courts and cottages. And above all his human gifts, but subtly interfused with them, is the something of another world—the sanctity which destroys none of them, but transfigures and consecrates.

If we look through his writings we meet similar combinations and contrasts. He aims infinitely high—as in his *Treatise on the Love of God*; he is infinitely con-

descending—as in his *Introduction to a Devout Life*. The learning which won him the title of Doctor meets us with the ease of a pleasant conversation. He was courteous, unruffled in disputation; yet to the vigour of his zeal seventy thousand conversions to the faith were an early and magnificent testimony. Regarded simply as a writer, he is very individual, yet perfectly schooled. Something of fault or excess, undoubtedly, the taste of our age finds in his style; the fashion of his own day and the desire to conciliate his readers led him into over-profusion of metaphors and far-fetched analogies. But "these very faults of his are of the kind that charm and move to smiling"—so thinks a keen judge, Ste-Beuve; while another critic—Henry Bordeaux—declares his style "thoroughly French in its grace and clearness."

Such was the man, now departed from earth just three hundred years, whose memory the present head of the Catholic Church has honoured with a long encyclical letter in which Francis de Sales is set up as a model for all Christians, but especially as model and patron for Catholic writers, journalists and controversialists. Probably all of us, in this hurried age, are less well acquainted than we ought to be with the books left by Francis de Sales; but those who know them best will realize best into what a serene ether the Holy Father invites us to rise—into an atmosphere how incomparably more salutary for the writer of to-day and for the world he influences than the turbulent, feverish welter of the Pagan Renascence! Here is an unique realisation of that beauty for whose ideal Middle Ages and Renascence alike groped so persistently and which the modern poet has characterised in one fine line: "In der schönen form die schöne seele"—"the lovely soul within the lovely form." Here is a reconciliation of what is best in the culture of all the eras. Here are goodness and wisdom harmoniously united and eager to diffuse themselves to the ends of the earth; here is light without smoky darkness or writhering flame.

G. O'Neill.

THE CONTROL OF CREDIT AND CURRENCY

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

ONE of the consequences of the "reconstruction" hopes that followed the war was an increased popular interest in questions of credit and currency. The boom in currency discussion was most effectively exploited by a Major Douglas, who began by propounding his monetary theories and what became known as the "Douglas Credit Scheme" in the pages of *The New Age*. The number and the variety of the adherents he obtained were amazing. During the vogue of the scheme the present writer was editing a small Catholic periodical devoted to the discussion of social problems. Letters came to this periodical from all sorts and conditions of people, from eminent theologians down to young ladies who signed themselves Children of Mary, affirming their faith that Major Douglas had discovered an alternative to Capitalism and Socialism which all Catholics should accept. Special arguments were urged, such as that the Jews were the chief enemies of the Catholic Church, that the Jews derived all their strength from money-power, that the Douglas scheme would break money-power, and that therefore the Catholic Church should take up the Douglas Scheme.

To argue about the Douglas Scheme was impossible, for when its adherents were asked point blank if they understood it they one and all, in the present writer's experience, confessed that they did not. Several of the most eminent economists in the land—not adherents of the Scheme—declared it to be quite beyond their comprehension, so that the failure of ordinary folk was not surprising, and though it might be thought that people should not make themselves advocates of what

they do not understand we live in democratic times when every man is admitted the right of thinking what he likes and saying what he thinks. Major Douglas spoke as a prophet, and he was believed in as Pastor Russell and other heralds of millenniums have been believed in. His incomprehensibility was his charm. The fact that he was ignored by the orthodox professors of political economy and the financial writers in the press only strengthened the conviction of his disciples that his gospel was being boycotted at the dictation of Money-Power. At length, however, the boycott was broken. Enthusiastic believers in the ranks of the Labour Party forced the leaders of that Party to give it attention. A committee consisting of Messrs. Sidney Webb, J. A. Hobson, R. H. Tawney, G. D. H. Cole and other authorities was asked to examine the Scheme and report on it. The committee's report was published as a twopenny pamphlet, and this has ended the Scheme so far as the Labour Movement is concerned. The spell of the Scheme was broken by the mere fact of competent discussion, and Major Douglas has lost his believers.

Currency questions are full of paradoxes, and the manipulation of credit and of money can be made to appear magical and somewhat sinister. There is really no magic about it, and in "high finance" there is a very high degree of scrupulous straightforwardness, for the simple reason that the whole system depends on confidence, and when confidence is destroyed the system ceases to work. Proposals for monetary reform can best be explained if we follow an ordinary exposition of the meaning of "money" and "currency" and "credit." We have learned in our text-books that money is a medium of exchange and a measure of value. Discussions of definitions could be carried on endlessly, but it is most convenient to regard as money whatever passes as money, *i.e.*, currency, whether in the shape of coin, Government notes or bank notes.

Money can be manufactured at will; it can practically be created out of nothing, since it may be printed from paper. When money is thus produced its issuer, whether Government or bank, may pocket as profit the whole difference between the face value of, say, ten million pound notes and the comparatively negligible costs of printing. Everybody will see the need for preventing the enormous potential profits of money manufacture going into private pockets. Governments have kept coinage in their own hands; and if they have delegated powers of note issue to banks, it has been for important reasons and under a system of close regulation.

Restraints on the creation of money are the more necessary because of the fact that money is worth more or less according to the supply of it. Money is worth what it will buy: its value is expressed by the general level of prices. If general prices are high, money is low in value; if general prices are low, the value of money is high. A community can accommodate itself to almost any given quantity of money. If the quantity is small, prices will be high; if the quantity is great, prices will be low. So long as prices are steady it matters not to a community whether prices are low or high. It is fluctuations of the price-level which cause concern. When the price-level changes, some sections of the community get an unearned increment, and they get it at the expense of other sections who are correspondingly plundered. We have all experienced the effects of these changes in the value of money since 1914. If we had painfully saved any money from the pre-war years and kept it in savings banks or fixed interest bearing securities, we saw our savings shrivel to a third of their former value in 1920. If we had happened to invest our money in real estate or in the ordinary shares of commercial undertakings, we should have avoided this depreciation of capital; our investments might have trebled in money-value, though trebling in

money-value, if general prices have advanced 200 per cent., means that they have merely held their own in real value. From 1914 to 1920 money fell in value; from 1920 to 1923 it went up. Thus the index number for the cost of living in Great Britain being taken as 100 in July, 1914, was 276 in November, 1920, and throughout 1923 was about 175.

After its switchback course of the last ten years we may wonder how money is going to perform in the next ten years—or the next ten months. If we knew that money was going to lose 20 per cent. of its purchasing power in the next ten months what should we do? The answer is in the nature of a bull: we should make it fall 50 per cent. or more. Anyone who knew that money would fall would hasten to spend his money as fast as he could. He would buy ordinary shares or real estate or furniture or a motor car or new clothes, or whatever suited his means and taste. If he were higher up in the realms of finance he would borrow money to the extreme limit of his credit; for he would know that he would be able to repay in depreciated currency. Contrariwise, if we knew that money was going to appreciate, *i.e.*, that prices would fall, we would restrict our spendings and borrowings to the minimum, waiting for prices to touch bottom. The fall in the demand for goods would depress trade and cause unemployment. The unemployment thus caused would lessen the purchasing power of the workers, and this in turn would cause still further depression and unemployment.

Enough has been said to show the evils of fluctuations in the value of money. If money is falling, there is feverish spending and speculation, leading eventually to a financial crisis and trade collapse. If money rises, there is a paralysing depression, leading to unemployment and the waste of productive resources. The obvious moral is that the value of money, or in other words the price-level, should be kept as stable as possible.

Absolute stability is perhaps not possible, but we should wish to make changes as slight and as gradual as possible.

The value of money depends upon its quantity; that it depends on other things besides need not now detain us. When there is an inconvertible paper currency the quantity of money, and therefore its value, depends upon the wisdom and honesty of governments. No government in history has ever yet shown itself wise enough and honest enough to refrain, for any considerable time, from debasements of the currency. The approved way, therefore, of protecting society against governments has been to base the issue of currency on holdings of an intrinsically valuable metal, chiefly gold. When currency is issued only against gold, there can be no arbitrary changes in its quantity and consequently in its value. The quantity of gold does indeed change, and it could conceivably change very rapidly and considerably with dire economic results; but in fact it has usually changed only very slowly, due to the annual new production being such a small proportion of the total supply in existence. Gold has thus performed for society the important service of providing a comparatively stable monetary standard. Society has not got this service for nothing: it has had to pay the gold-diggers and gold-mine owners an annual tribute corresponding to the amount of new metal brought to the mints. As already pointed out, society needs a gold backing for its paper money because it could not otherwise trust governments to refrain from over-issue. The tribute it pays to the gold industry is a penalty which society pays for the frailty of its rulers.

So far we have been dealing only with currency. Monetary problems arise equally, if not more, from the factor of credit. The possession of credit gives a man the same purchasing power, the same command over general commodities, as the possession of money. Credit is thus equivalent to money and an increase in

credit has much the same effect as an increase in the quantity of money. The issue of money is a governmental function, though sometimes delegated partly to banks. The creation of credit, however, is primarily a function of banks. If society is at the mercy of governments in respect of its currency, it is equally at the mercy of banks regarding supplies of credit.

A bank, we say, creates credit when it grants a loan to a borrower. The bulk of the borrowers from banks are business men who need financial accommodation in order that they may produce or market the goods in which they are interested. What enables a bank to grant loans? First, the possession of its capital. Anybody who has money can lend money, and if a bank has any surplus over the capital it needs for premises and working expenses it can make loans. A bank can also make loans because it has the money of its depositors. Even if this money is on current account and withdrawable on demand, the bank knows from experience that at any given time the depositors will draw on their balances only to a limited extent, and therefore it is quite safe for the bank to lend out a portion, and much the greater portion, of the money deposited with it.

The bank's power of lending does not end here. We have seen that its deposits give it a power to lend, because at any given time only part of the deposits are drawn upon. Now when a bank grants a loan it creates a deposit in favour of the borrower. The borrower draws cheques against this credit, but the likelihood is that these cheques are paid back into the bank by those who received them. If they do not return to the same bank they go to some other bank, while the first bank will be receiving deposits arising from loans made by other banks. In fine, the effect of loans granted by all the banks is to raise the combined deposits of the banks. The cheque system enables the banks to lend their cake

and keep it: they lend their money without it leaving them. Loans are for commerce, and as practically all commercial transactions, except wages and travelling expenses, are nowadays settled by cheque the granting of bank credits is, subject to a qualification which will be explained, simply a matter of book entries. We speak of banks "creating" credit, because it is almost, but not quite, true that they make credit out of nothing.

What is the limitation to the bank's power of credit creation? It is the need for keeping a certain proportion of cash. A bank that takes deposits on current account can safely invest or lend a large proportion, but not all of it. It must keep some money in the till and at short call to meet probable demands with a margin for safety. The whole of its deposits are liabilities; the money it has in the till and at call is its cash reserve. Safety requires a certain proportion between its liabilities and its cash reserve. According to ordinary banking practice the ratio of the cash reserve to liabilities is from 11 to 12 per cent. The grant of a loan by a bank increases its liabilities but adds nothing to its reserve. If a bank creates credit for £100,000, it does not need to have an extra hundred thousand pounds in cash on hand to meet the resultant claims; but it will need perhaps £11,000 or £12,000. A bank dare not create credit to such an extent as to destroy the necessary proportion between its liabilities and its cash reserves.

The reader will now see the relation between currency and credit. Currency is the foundation on which the larger superstructure of credit is built. If for any reason there is an increased issue of currency an increase of credit becomes possible and, indeed, unless there is deliberate restriction, inevitable. Similarly, if an increase of credit beyond the normal occurs, an increase of currency would be required to safeguard the position of the banks. During the war the British Government increased the currency by its issues of Treasury Notes,

thus inflating prices. The notes being paid into banks as deposits increased their cash resources and thus enabled the banks to grant fresh credits to several times the amount of the new currency, thus inflating prices to a still greater degree. Often enough the inflation by increased credit preceded the inflation by increased currency. The Government would borrow from the Bank of England. The Bank simply credited the Government with the amount of the loan in its books. The Government then drew cheques on the Bank to pay contractors, etc. The contractors paid the cheques into their own banks, and from the accounts they thus had to their credit the contractors would withdraw money as they required it. So far as all the resultant withdrawals were by cheque there would be no change in the currency. But some withdrawals would be for such purposes as wage-payment which required currency. There was therefore a need for extra supplies of currency, which the Government met by means of the printing press. At the present time the declared policy of the British Government is to keep the issue of Treasury notes below a stated limit. The banks, knowing this limit, are bound to restrict their credit grants accordingly, but they are not quite contented under the restraint. Mr. Reginald McKenna, Chairman of the Midland Bank, speaking at its last annual meeting, was at pains to express his anxiety that, in the event of a trade revival, the banks would be enabled to expand their credits by the Government issuing a larger quantity of currency. There are critics who allege that this means more inflation. Mr. McKenna would reply that if trade increases, there must be an increase of currency to maintain price-stability, and that if currency is kept stationary when trade is expanding, there is a deflation which is as injurious in its way as inflation.

No reader will need to be convinced that the proper regulation of currency and credit is a matter of supreme

social importance. We have now to consider the best policy to be adopted by the Government and the banks. We shall not argue the merits and demerits of inflation and deflation. There may be differences of opinion as to whether we should go a little above or a little below the present price-level, but every intelligent person would agree that having arrived at what was considered a satisfactory price-level we should stick to it. Only a lunatic or a swindler would desire instability of the price-level to be pursued as a policy. There is no dispute among responsible economists as to inflation *versus* deflation. The only question at issue is how we may attain the greatest degree of stabilisation.

Price-stability is therefore the agreed aim of all honest monetary policy. What should be the means? The view of old-fashioned orthodoxy is emphatically expressed by Professor Cannan, who says to the Government: "Burn your paper money and go on burning it till it will buy as much gold as it used to do!" This means quick and violent deflation till we are back to the gold basis, when we may expect the relative stability of the gold standard. Not all the orthodox school would be quite so precipitate as Professor Cannan, but they all look for the restoration of the gold standard. This would mean that all legal tender currency should be convertible into a definite amount of gold and that there should be a free market in that gold, without any of the export restrictions on gold which make the nominal convertibility of British Treasury notes a delusion. With a genuine gold standard Government inflation of the currency is impossible. Currency can only be increased as supplies of gold are increased.

The gold standard not only sets an absolute check to currency, but it powerfully controls the creation of credit also. It has been explained that banks have to maintain a certain proportion of cash against their liabilities. With a gold standard this means that they

must have available a certain quantity of gold. In the British pre-war system it meant in practice that there had to be a certain reserve of gold at the Bank of England, because it was from there that the other banks drew the gold that they needed. If the Bank found its reserves falling below a certain point it took steps to protect them. The chief of these protective steps was the raising of Bank Rate, that is to say, the rate of discount for bills, or to put it in another way, the rate of interest on short term loans which are negotiated by the thousand every day in banking centres and are the normal means of financing commerce. When the Bank of England thus forced up money rates, it restricted the demand for loans and therefore for gold; moreover it attracted from abroad gold eager to earn the high interest rates current in England.

Compared with the riotous ups and downs of prices since 1914 the pre-war conditions secured by the gold standard seem a haven of security. Yet those conditions were themselves fluctuating. There was a constant rise of prices for many years before the war due to the supply of gold increasing faster than general production, and there were the fluctuations due to credit expansions and contractions. We know how the Bank of England protected its gold reserves by sharply applying the brake to credit. This was locking the stable door after the horse was stolen so far as steadying prices was concerned. The Bank forced a deflation in order to counteract a previous inflation. The cure was more painful than the disease. Could the disease have been prevented? Advocates of the new doctrine of credit control reply in the affirmative. It is the most interesting and important question in modern Economics.

Let us suppose a paper currency which is issued honestly by the Government, "honestly" meaning that it is issued without inflationary intent. Currency is supplied as it is required to sustain an existing price-level,

and it will depend on the amount of credit previously created. There can then be no inflation due to currency; if there is inflation it is due to excessive credits. If credit is properly regulated, currency may be left to look after itself. But on what principles should credit be regulated, apart from the old principle of maintaining the proportion of gold reserves? The answer of the advocates of credit control is: price stability. If prices are rising, credit should be restricted, for this will tend to pull prices down; contrariwise, if prices are falling, there should be easier lending to hold prices up.

The device of index numbers enables us to see how prices move. But index numbers in themselves would not be a sufficient guide to those entrusted with the task of controlling credit. For one thing, the index numbers are subsequent to the price movements which credit control should anticipate and prevent. Even the very confident Mr. Keynes is shy of saying precisely how the credit controllers should be guided. He writes:—

> As regards the criteria, other than the actual trend of prices, which should determine the action of the controlling authority, it is beyond the scope of this volume to deal adequately with the diagnosis and analysis of the credit cycle. The more deeply that our researches penetrate into this subject, the more accurately shall we understand the right time and method for controlling credit-expansion by bank-rate or otherwise. But in the meantime we have a considerable and growing body of general experience upon which those in authority can base their judgments. Actual price-movements must of course provide the most important datum; but the state of employment, the volume of production, the effective demand for credit as felt by the banks, the rate of interest on investments of various types, the volume of new issues, the flow of cash into circulation, the statistics of foreign trade and the level of the exchanges must all be taken into account. The main point is that the *objective* of the authorities, pursued with such means as are at their command, should be the stability of prices.[1]

[1] *Monetary Reform*, p. 188.

Adherence to the gold standard complicates the task of credit control, for then currency no longer depends simply upon the volume of credit at a given price-level. Credit control has to accommodate itself to independent changes in the currency. Mr. Keynes meets the difficulty with his revolutionary proposal that we should dispense with the gold standard. There should be no gold backing for bank notes and Treasury notes. These should be freely issued as they are required, their quantity being regulated only indirectly through the control of credit. Though the gold standard is abolished the notes may remain convertible. This is a concession that Mr. Keynes makes as a sop to the timid and the conventional. He only asks that the currency issue should not be tied down to any fixed gold reserve. He argues that a rigid currency means unstable prices, and he would make the currency elastic so that it will adapt itself to the varying needs of trade on the same principle that Mr. Reginald McKenna expressed the hope that the Government will issue more Treasury notes if trade expands in the near future. If there is to be convertibility, which Mr. Keynes grants, doubtless there must be some gold reserve; but this would be much more a matter of discretion than it was under the old system. Moreover, the notes and not the gold would be legal tender, so that there would be no monetary reason for anybody wanting gold, except to export.

Let us suppose that Mr. Keynes had attained his objective of stable prices in Great Britain by regulation of credit and currency. In other countries there would not be the same stabilisation. Prices in America, for instance, might fall as compared with those in England. A quantity of gold would purchase more commodities in America than in England. People would therefore want to convert English currency into gold to ship to America. If the Bank of England simply parted with the gold and locked up the currency it received in payment

it would lower the quantity of currency in circulation and prices would fall. There would be that very fluctuation which the new system was designed to avoid. If the Bank did not lock up the currency it received for the gold, but sent it back into circulation, English prices would indeed remain stable, but the gold would continue to flow to America until the Bank found its reserves at zero. To check this drain of gold Mr. Keynes would regulate the price of gold. He allows his paper currency to be convertible, but not at a permanently fixed price as under the existing system. At present the Bank will always buy gold at £3 17s. 9d. per ounce and it will sell gold at £3 17s. 10½d. Mr. Keynes would have the Bank raise and lower its prices in accordance with the value of general commodities. Thus if American prices were falling in terms of gold, causing gold to flow to America because of greater purchasing power there, the Bank would raise the price of gold. People who wanted gold for export would have to give more currency for it. By this means the Bank could avoid an undue diminution in its gold resources.

It is only by the free flow of gold between different countries that price-levels in different countries maintain any relation to each other and that rates of exchange can be kept steady. The Keynes plan would undoubtedly involve unlimited fluctuations in foreign exchange rates. Mr. Keynes is prepared to admit this, but he claims that domestic price-stability is very much more important than exchange stability. We may agree with him on the general principle, but the difficulty is that we can be by no means sure of price-stability while we are only too certain of exchange fluctuations. These very fluctuations will themselves make domestic stability harder to attain, for there would inevitably be great fluctuations in prices of goods imported and exported.

Brilliant as is Mr. Keynes as a theorist and

controversialist it is hardly conceivable that the business community could ever be converted to this scheme. There is much more hope for the proposals of Mr. R. G. Hawtrey, another most original and authoritative exponent of the possibilities of credit control. Mr. Hawtrey is a Treasury official and the author of several standard books on monetary problems[1]. His proposals are not simply those of an individual, for they are substantially the same as those embodied in the resolutions of the International Economic Conference held at Genoa. Speaking as a scientific economist Mr. Hawtrey says that an ideal system would dispense with gold, but as a practical administrator he takes it for granted that "it will probably be thought dangerous to trust entirely to administrative discretion,"[2] and that the currency must have a gold basis. Yet no more than Mr. Keynes does Mr. Hawtrey favour a return to the gold standard pure and simple. He is far from Professor Cannan, whose simple plan is to burn all the paper currency till its gold value is equal to its face value. Instead of leaving all values to be regulated by gold Mr. Hawtrey takes care to keep the value of gold itself in control. As we have pointed out above, it is only in a comparative sense that we can claim that the gold standard kept prices stable. Gold was an imperfect standard before the war; there is no predicting how it may fluctuate in future; and it is quite certain that if there were an unregulated attempt by different countries to return to the gold standard, those very attempts would cause enormous fluctuations. "Simultaneous and competitive efforts of a number of countries to secure metallic reserves," as the Genoa Conference experts pointed out, would mean a violent deflation of prices. On the other hand, if the Federal Reserve Board of the United States let loose the flood of gold which it now

[1] *Good and Bad Trade. Currency and Credit. Monetary Reconstruction.*
[2] *Monetary Reconstruction*, p. 60.

hems in by a costly policy of credit control, the world would experience a tremendous inflationary movement. There is overwhelming economic authority for the doctrine that the value of gold must henceforth be "managed." This would be done by the international control of credit and by the general establishment of "the gold exchange standard." Perhaps our best method of exposition is to give a *précis* of the resolutions of the Financial Commission of the Genoa Conference[1], followed by comments and explanations of our own.

Resolution 4. It is desirable that all European currencies should be based upon a common standard.

Resolution 5. Gold is the only common standard which all European countries could at present agree to adopt.

Resolutions 7 and 8. The first step towards the establishment of a gold standard is a balanced budget so that deficits are not met by the creation of fiduciary money or bank credits. The next step is to determine and fix the gold value of the monetary unit.

Resolution 9. The maintenance of the gold standard would be materially promoted by collaboration of central banks and by an international convention. The purpose of the convention would be to co-ordinate and centralise the demand for gold, and so to avoid those wide fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold, which might otherwise result from the simultaneous and competitive efforts of a number of countries to secure metallic reserves. The Convention should embody some means of economising the use of gold by maintaining reserves in the form of foreign balances, such, for example, as the gold exchange standard.

Resolution 11. The countries joining in the convention must all provide an adequate reserve of approved assets, not necessarily gold, to maintain its currency at the proper gold value. Certain of the participating countries will establish a free market in gold and become gold centres. All participating countries will agree to buy and sell each other's currencies within prescribed rates on demand. Credit will be regulated, not only with a view to

[1] For full text see *Command Paper* 1650 (H.M. Stationery Office, London).

maintaining the currencies at par with one another, but also with a view to preventing undue fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold.

In the course of this article sufficient has been said to show that credit can be regulated, and in fact always has been regulated by the banks with various ends in view. We may accept it as possible to regulate credit with a view to keeping prices stable, and certainly the most serious difficulties in the way of such regulation will disappear if there is international co-operation in the matter. It remains for us to explain the "gold exchange standard." Every student of economics knows that a country exports gold as a means of meeting foreign indebtedness in preference to buying foreign currency at a premium which exceeds the cost of sending gold. It is for the purpose of exporting gold in such circumstances that a country needs reserves of gold. But it is obvious that a country might keep reserves available for paying foreign debts not in the form of gold but of foreign currencies, and not only in foreign currencies but foreign securities and other assets. If Britain, for instance, had to consider no form of foreign indebtedness except debts to the United States, her reserves might just as well be in dollars or in United States bonds as in gold. It would be preferable to keep bonds instead of gold, because then the reserve would be earning interest and would not need such expensive precautions against theft. Similarly, France need not keep gold to meet possible demands from England if she possessed sufficient bills drawn on London or British Government securities or credits with English banks. Any Frenchman who wanted to pay a debt in England could then go to the French authorities who would sell him sterling at the prescribed rate of exchange. There are certain sorts of assets which are practically international currency. Sterling bills were of this sort before the war. The dollar has universal negotiability at the present time.

If a country keeps a reserve of dollars, it has the means of paying debts not only to America but to Germany or Japan or Peru; for all countries regard the dollar as being as good as gold.

This keeping of foreign assets instead of gold as a reserve from which to meet demands for foreign exchange is what is called the gold exchange system. If Governments or their official banks are willing, as they must be if they have a gold standard, to give so much gold on demand for so much of their currency, they can quite as easily guarantee to deliver so much foreign currency at a prescribed rate. It means that, instead of purchasing gold and keeping it in vaults, they must purchase foreign assets and keep a credit account with foreign banks. If there is co-operation between the nations as the Genoa Resolutions recommend, each nation would be buying assets from the other. France would be establishing sterling credits in London while Britain obtained franc assets to be held in Paris. If the balance of indebtedness was ever against Britain, the British debtor would go to the Bank of England and the Bank would sell him francs at a fixed rate, drawing upon its Paris credits for the purpose. The system works as effectively as a gold reserve and gold export, and it is much more economical than using gold. If there were international agreement, any person who possessed the currency of one participating country would have the assurance of being able to change it into the currency of any other participating country at a fixed rate. Under the system recommended at Genoa he could also change it into gold at a fixed price if he so willed. Not every participating country would pledge itself to sell gold on demand, but certain countries would do so, becoming "gold centres," so that a person would merely change his own currency into that of a country which was a gold centre and then he could buy gold.

It may be asked: what is to prevent a participating

country depreciating its currency so that all other countries who hold its assets and who pledge themselves to accept its currency in return for their own will find themselves losing on every transaction to the full extent of the depreciation? A clause of one of the Genoa resolutions runs :—

> The Convention will thus be based on a gold exchange standard. The condition of continuing membership will be the maintenance of the national currency unit at the prescribed value. Failure in this respect will entail suspension of the right to hold the reserve balances of other participating countries.

There is no absolute assurance that a country will not break away from the Convention and cause loss to others thereby, any more than there is absolute assurance that a country will never repudiate its debts. But apart from deliberate sanctions, the gold exchange standard has an automatic check on inflation by a single country. When a country sells its own currency and receives foreign currency in payment, it adds to its own currency in order to make the sale while it locks away the foreign currency in its reserves. A country which indulged in inflation would cause the printing-presses of its neighbours to work faster turning out paper money, whilst its own paper money would be locked up in the exchange reserves and withdrawn from circulation.

After the orgy of inflation, which is one of the results of war, there can be no two opinions about the need for a restoration of monetary stability. The need for this is so imperative that we may be assured that it will come. If the hopes of those who believe in the possibilities of credit control are realised, we shall have a much better system than prevailed before the war; for the stabilisation of prices will do much, if it does not do everything that needs to be done, to stabilise trade and employment.

H. Somerville.

IRISH LAND TENURES: CELTIC AND FOREIGN

BY W. F. BUTLER, M.A.

AMONG the subjects for study in the advanced course of History, recommended by the recent Dáil Committee on Education as suitable for the two years leading up to the "Leaving Certificate," figures "The Irish Land Tenures: Celtic and Foreign." This seems a very attractive theme, and one which bears directly on many of our present problems. But is it a possible or fit subject of study for a secondary school course? Let us consider. History to the schoolboy must, to the end of his schooldays, take the form of accepting versions of what has happened in the past, based on authority—the authority of the master, the text-book, or where possible, both combined; the master explaining what is important and what is not, what is certain and what is not, and, if time and his own knowledge permit, trying to impart to the pupil some idea of the nature and value of historical evidence. Anything wider or deeper the limited time at the disposal of master and pupil forbids, even granted that the pupil's faculties are sufficiently ripe to make it possible for him to grasp comparatively complex and abstract problems.

Now can we say that we know enough on "Celtic" land tenures to make possible an authoritative exposition by the master, even if we grant that "Foreign," *i.e.*, English, tenures are sufficiently certain and simple for the secondary school pupil to understand? Some simple-minded souls will answer: "Certainly; read Joyce or some other manual; get your pupils to learn Joyce by heart; then add explanations out of your own superior knowledge; season with a little O'Curry and MacNeill, and the thing is done." I wonder.

And to explain my point let me set out the amount of knowledge to which I can claim to have attained after some twenty years or so of intermittent attempts to grasp the main features of "Celtic" tenures, by which I mean those in Wales and in Gaelic Ireland and Scotland. What were the "Celtic Land Tenures."? The answer from some is: "They were what we may call tribal." What were the "Foreign Land Tenures"? I suppose they were what one finds called "feudal."

There was a "feudal system," so all our history text books tell us. I have read somewhere a suggestion that the phrase and the thing were invented by Chief Justice Coke somewhere in the time of King James I.

There is said to have been a "tribal system"; at any rate there is a well known book called *The Tribal System in Wales* by an eminent authority on Welsh and English antiquities, Mr. Seebohm. But Dr. Eoin MacNeill, if I understand him aright, raises some very pertinent objections as to the existence of any such system in the British Isles, at any rate in historical periods.

Let us see then if we can define the words "tribal system" at least in relation to land. Can we get behind words to facts? The simplest solution seems to be to establish a contrast between the system of land tenure which prevailed, say in England in the thirteenth century, and that which prevailed in Wales and, as far as we can judge, in Ireland at the same time.

In England we find the following facts. An individual is in possession of a certain quantity of land. He can, within certain limits, dispose of it; he can, possibly, leave it by will, though this is a feature which only becomes prominent at a later date; if he dies without a will the whole property passes to the eldest son, to the exclusion of all other children, but subject to certain rights of the widow; if there is no son the daughters

divide in equal shares. But, over and above this, is the cardinal fact that, except the King, no one is fully the owner of his land. Either in fact, or in theory, the land has been granted by the King, or by someone who has himself received a grant from the King, to the holder, subject to certain conditions. These conditions may differ greatly. The holder may have to give military service, or pay an annual sum of money, or render a token such as a rose or a cast of falcons. In most cases he does homage, or recognises in some other way the superiority of the grantor. There is always a right of reversion to the grantor, if the conditions on which the land was granted are not fulfilled. It has been said that of every parcel of land in England the following formula could be employed :—

A holds the land called B from C, rendering as services D.

And the relationship, in England at any rate, is a purely personal one, a relationship of individuals to an individual, founded on some original contract, the whole system culminating in the King, who is the real ultimate owner of all the land.

This is roughly what is called " the Feudal System." Many features in it are accidental; but the salient and essential feature would appear to be a certain dual ownership, depending on a grant of land to be held by one person from another, the grantor reserving to himself certain rights. This system prevailed, with local variants, over most of Western Europe. There is no need, here, to go into its origin, its merits, or its defects. But, it would seem, owing to the thorough nature of the Norman Conquest in 1066, that the system was more complete and less subject to exception in England than elsewhere.

Furthermore this system was something comparatively new. It had been unknown to the classical Greek and Roman world. Alongside it, on the continent at any rate, were survivals, if not of Roman ownership, at any

rate of that German system of absolute ownership known to mediaeval lawyers as "allodial," a system which never completely died out up to the French Revolution, and which may now be said to be the base on which the possession of landed property rests in Western Europe.

Now in Wales, in the thirteenth century, we find a system of land tenure very different from the contemporary English one. Leaving out persons of kingly or princely rank, there are normally in Wales no individuals in possession of a definite area of land. Instead we find groups of kinsmen who hold jointly, according to carefully laid down rules, a definite area of land.[1] No individual can dispose of his interest in this area without the consent of his kinsmen. His heirs are not any one son, but his sons together with all the males descended in the male line from his great grandfather, that is to say, up to and including his second cousins by male descent.[2] Complicated rules regulate the succession within this kindred. There are wider groups of kindred, going as far as the seventh and ninth generations from a common ancestor, who have certain rights. Daughters do not inherit land. Within the family group is a person, usually the senior living member, who represents the family group in its relations with the outer world, and in whom certain of the rights over the land are for the moment vested. He is not the owner of the land; but in some respects he is very like an owner. And the land held by this group of kinsmen cannot be said to be held as of the gift of anyone. The land is liable for certain dues and services to the King, rendered of course

[1] "It is to be known that there is a certain *progenies* of free tenants in this commote which is called the *progenies* of Rand Vaghan ap Asser." Then are given the lands they held, "and they held all the above in four beds." Here *progenies* equals the Irish *sliocht : bed*, in the Latin text *lectum*, is the Welsh *gwely*.

[2] Then the survey gives the names of each of the four *weles*, and the division of each into *gavells*, and then the names of the joint holders of each *gavell*. So we have the common ancestor, the *weles* of his sons, the *gavells* of his grandsons, and finally the names of the joint holders of the *gavells*.

Seebohm: *Tribal System in Wales*, App. p. 61.

by the persons holding it. But these dues are in the nature of taxes not rent. There is no personal contract. The land is liable, not the occupiers. These may migrate, die out, part with some or all of their holding; the new occupiers who come in succeed to the same liabilities as their predecessors.

If you ask the holders: "How do you come by this land, who gave it to you?" the answer would be: "We hold it from time immemorial; our fathers won it by the sword; such and such a man who held the land gave it to our ancestor and his posterity for ever." We cannot apply in Wales the formula given above for England. Rather we find a formula somewhat of this kind:—

The land called A is held by the posterity of B rendering as services C.[1]

And these services are rendered not to a superior landowner as rent, or to the King as owner of the land; they are rendered to the King as supreme executive officer of the State, in other words they are taxes. There is no dual ownership.

This state of things would in the main hold good for the Gaelic portions of Ireland in the sixteenth century, and no doubt in the thirteenth century also. It was subject, however, in Ireland to a complication unknown in Wales—the existence as a political unit of the clan.

It is not necessary to go into this subject here, beyond saying that in Wales there were no clans having a separate political existence. Sovereignty in Wales was territorial, not based on claims of kindred. The Irish feeling that O'Conors should be ruled only by O'Conors, and MacDermotts only by MacDermotts, never sprang up in Wales. There were no surnames in Wales; nor was it held that the King or Prince should necessarily be of the same blood as his subjects. Apart from this, the

[1] "All the villata of Tebrith with its hamlets is held in four *beds* . . . . . and they are called the grandsons of Pithle." Seebohm: *Tribal System*, App. p. 93.

Irish and Welsh systems of family tenure seem to have been practically identical.

Now these two contrasted systems, the English and the Welsh, approach one another in many respects. In the feudal system family or joint holding was possible. We find in thirteenth century Tuscany groups of kinsmen holding undivided shares of castles and lands in common from feudal superiors, and themselves having vassals under them whose homage and services were due to all the kinsmen in common. Primogeniture again, though obviously convenient, is not an essential part of feudalism. On the other hand the Welsh and Gaelic systems tended easily to assume a feudal aspect. The chief of a kindred appeared in many respects like a single proprietor; the King or Prince of a definite area might easily enough take on the attributes of a landlord.

But again, for the essential differences, let us contrast thirteenth century England with thirteenth century Wales. We should find England divided up into a great number of units of landed property of varying sizes, called manors. The manor may be considered as a self-supporting village community, the property of an individual holding from the King or some other person as the superior lord. The land within the manor falls into two distinct categories: one the Lord's demesne worked by him for his own profit; the other held by tenants, using the word practically in its modern sense. But these tenants fall into two classes: one, a relatively small one, of free tenants holding by military service or by the payment of a fixed rental or by both; the other, and much the larger class, composed of holders described by various names and of varied rank; but who all for convenience sake may be called *bond* or *villein* or *nativus*; and who all have this characteristic in common that they owed to the lord uncertain or unlimited services, very largely in the nature of work to be done in ploughing,

sowing and reaping the lands he held in demesne.[1] In return for this, many of them had fixity of tenure in their own dwellings and plots of ground; but they themselves were in turn bound to the land. They could not leave it, and were transferable along with it. Furthermore, though in certain respects the village community formed a whole, yet the relation between tenant and tenant, and tenant and lord was a personal one, not based on any theory of kinship.

In Wales there is nothing of this. The King or Prince has his demesne lands cultivated for him by unfree occupiers; but the bulk of the land is held by kindreds of free tribesmen. They do not hold from the King, but by virtue of their tribal blood, which entitles them to a share in the country. The dues they pay to the King are not rent but taxes.

As landowners these free kindreds may be compared to the lords of manors in England. But they are relatively far more numerous, for all sons have a claim to a share in the family land; and these shares constantly vary as the numbers of any given kindred increase or decrease.[2] "For this you must know," says Spenser, "that all the Irish almost boast themselves to be gentlemen, no less than the Welsh." And instead of the country being organised into a number of manors, we find groups of households—twelve or sixteen—grouped together into a taxpaying unit called *maenol* in North Wales, *trev* or *gwestva* in South Wales, and these again grouped into larger units called *commotes*, each of which, in theory, contains a certain number of households, has a fiscal and judicial organisation of its own, and has a certain portion of land set apart for the use of the King and his officers, and another part in occupation, not of

[1] Services of this kind were due in the 17th century to O'Callaghan and to MacCarthy of Muskerry out of certain lands. This seems to have been irrespective of the actual status of the occupiers of these lands.

[2] In the *Villata* of Prees there were six land-owning kindreds, numbering 126 landowners. (Denbigh Extent; in Seebohm).

free land-owning kindreds, but of an unfree population, corresponding to some extent to the villeins of the English manor.

There was another marked difference between Anglo-Norman and Welsh society; and in this feature again Gaelic and Welsh society resembled one another. In England we can distinguish first the owners of manors, men of the gentle or knightly or noble class; living on the rents of their estates, supplemented by the produce of their demesne lands; these demesne lands being tilled for them largely by villein labour. Then there were free tenants, of various degree. Some of them were of gentle birth and knightly rank; and no doubt drew revenues and labour from villeins directly under them. Some were smaller men, cultivating with their own hands. Finally there was the rest of the rural population in various degrees of serfdom.

The first class would have been mainly, the second class at least partly, of Norman or French blood. The third class would have been almost exclusively Anglo-Saxon. But there was no legal racial barrier. There were certainly lords of manors of Saxon descent; it was theoretically possible to find villeins of Norman origin.

But in Wales the distinction between the free and unfree was primarily one of blood. The free kindreds were the pure Cymric tribesmen; the unfree population were strangers in blood, descendants of an older conquered race, or of captives or fugitives from other peoples. And the barrier between the two classes was, in North Wales at any rate, practically impassable.

This unfree class was subject to various disabilities which we need not detail; but its position appears, in some respects at least, to have been superior to that of the English or continental villein.

In Ireland we find a similar servile class, both on Church lands and subject to the greater Gaelic chiefs.

In theory, at least, many of them were of non-Gaelic origin. Their lot in sixteenth century Ireland appears to have been a hard one, and it was not until the opening of the seventeenth century that a proclamation by Chichester finally abolished the distinction between free and unfree, and gave all classes equal status under the protection of the Crown. This unfree class, dwelling on lands belonging to others, were of course tenants, using the word in its modern sense.

Salient points, then, of the Welsh system are: the large number of land-owners, who hold, however, collectively in family groups; the absence, in the case of freemen, of the relation of landlord and tenant, at least as a general rule; and the fact that the villein or unfree population depends, in general, directly on the Prince. The Welsh landowner may have had villeins directly dependent on him, working on household tasks, or tilling some portions of the family land. This is very probable in the case of the heads of wealthy kindreds. There may, too, have been freemen holding land at a rent from other freemen. But the normal condition of the ordinary Welsh freeman, according to Seebohm, was that of a small dairy farmer, possessing rights to maintenance, including rights of pasturing cattle, and sharing in the tillage of the family holding, a portion of which with a homestead was set apart for his individual use, and having also rights to a share in the produce of the land, and to a proportion of the land itself at its eventual division.

All such freemen would be classed as or would claim to be of gentle birth.[1] But the chief of the kindred in whom were vested all the rights to land of the kindred as against the outer world would, to the Norman lawyer, appear in some respects to be the owner of the land. His position gave him rank; his moveable property,

[1] As Sir John Davies puts it, "Thereby every man being born to land . . . they all hold themselves to be gentlemen." (*Discovery*).

especially in cattle, would normally exceed that of his younger kinsmen, he would stand out as the *uchelwr* or nobleman par excellence.

How far the Irish *flaith*, of whom we read in our text books, corresponded to the Welsh *uchelwr* is a point worthy of consideration.

The absence of the relation of landlord and tenant does not imply that there were no burdens on the holders of land. On the contrary, both in Ireland and in Wales, there lay on the whole population, free and non-free alike, the duty of supporting the ruler. Unluckily, in dealing with Ireland, the word *rent* has been used for such payments, and as rent has in modern times taken on in Ireland a certain definite connotation much confusion has arisen as to the relations between the Gaelic lords and their subjects.

It would clear up many disputed points if we remember that the Welsh *gwestva*, and the payments of butter, meal, the support of the household of the Prince, of his huntsmen, horses, dogs, falcons etc. and the Irish *cuddy*, *sorrenmore*, *sorren* and all the other dues which so often figure in the State Papers as " Irish exactions " were, as far as they came from the free landholders, much more in the nature of *taxes* than of *rent*, using both words in the modern sense.

With regard to the non-free the case is somewhat different. In Wales they had lands set apart for them, out of which they paid to the Prince, or to the greater among the uchelwrs, contributions of food and services of a more or less uncertain kind. In Ireland they lived on land which was definitely looked on as the property of the Chief or other great man, at least for his life. We know that there was a great difference in the status of the various grades of the non-free in Ireland ; and that from some grades almost unlimited dues could be taken. The Tudor lawyers in sixteenth century Wales declared that the non-free class were only tenants (in the modern

sense) on lands of which the real owner was the Crown as successor to the Welsh Princes. In the same way in Ireland the Tudor or Stuart lawyers handed over all the " churls " as tenants at will to those lords and great men on whose land they dwelt, irrespective of what may have been their status under Gaelic law. But, as regards the free landholders, though the lords attempted in many cases to turn them into tenants, and in some cases succeeded, yet, as I have shown in my *Policy of Surrender and Regrant*, these free landowners, were recognised as owners of their land, at least when it suited the convenience of the Government.

In *The Lordship of Mac Carthy Mór* I have given a detailed account of the rights of the head of one of the old Gaelic kingdoms over his subjects, based on the Survey taken on the death of the last Mac Carthy Mór, and supplemented from other sources. This Survey is to be found in Vol. 625 of the Carew MSS. at Lambeth; and would well repay publication *in extenso*. For the rights of the Welsh Princes, which passed undisturbed to the Crown of England or its grantees on the downfall of Welsh independence, the reader is referred to Seebohm's works *The Tribal System in Wales* and *The English Village Community*.

The similarities between thirteenth century Wales and Gaelic Ireland in the sixteenth century are remarkable.

The relative burden of the support of the Prince and his household was probably less in Wales than in Ireland. This arises from the Irish clan system, with its hierarchy of chiefs, each of whom was a burden on the subject community.[1]

Thus, though we find that the island of Anglesey yielded in the thirteenth century an annual revenue of

[1] I use the words " clan system " for want of a better name to describe the system by which, *e.g.*, under Mac Carthy Mór was O'Sullivan Bere, and under O'Sullivan Bere the " lineages " of the O'Sullivans, each under its own chief, as well as various subject families, such as O'Linchigh, not necessarily connected by blood with O'Sullivan.

£483 10s. 11d. to the Prince of Gwynedd, and that four commotes of the Co. Cardigan produced for their princes an annual revenue of £213 0s. 3d. according to a return made in 1280, while the total value of Mac Carthy Mór's dues from his subjects is returned at only £266 5s. 10d. in the sixteenth century, and those of Mac Carthy Reagh at £208 14s. 1½d. a little later, yet these sums in Ireland represent only a portion of the dues assessed on the land.

For instance in the extreme west of the wild peninsula of Bere there were two small clans, O'Linchigh and O'Donegan, holding one some ten, the other some seven ploughlands. The earth tillers of each of these barren districts had first to support their own immediate chief; then O'Sullivan Bere got from each clan £4 13s. 4d.; and then Mac Carthy Mór had eighteen ounces of silver valued each at two shillings and two white groats, that is forty shillings from each.

O'Driscoll Mór was lord of Baltimore and the adjoining territory called Collymór, under Mac Carthy Reagh. The territory consisted of sixty-five ploughlands, which paid yearly as Cuddy, Dubh Chiós (probably maintenance of horses, dogs etc.), and Cess at Beltaine and Samhain a total of £27 11s. 11½d. to Mac Carthy Reagh. About half the district was in the hands of the chief as demesne.[1] The rest was held by the "septs of the freeholders," some of them branches of the O'Driscoll clan, others of other surnames, and they paid to O'Driscoll chief rents amounting yearly to £18 5s. 11d. Then the whole territory had to supply the Earl of Desmond with eight beeves or eight nobles sterling yearly. The heads of the various O'Driscoll or other septs probably took dues also from their immediate dependents.

While our authorities lead us to believe that the lot of the lower orders in Ireland, the *churls* as English writers called them, was a hard one, the unfree classes

[1] Cultivated by "tenants," using the words in its modern sense.

in Wales do not seem to have been subject to exactions materially heavier than the dues imposed on the free kindreds. But there was one marked peculiarity in their tenure of land, which may give us a clue to one of the puzzles of Irish social history. In Wales, in a tref or maenol occupied by the non-tribesmen, on the death of one holder of lands, his share, except his actual homestead, was divided among all the other occupiers of the tref, and the whole land in the tref was subject to redivision. The law did not recognise kindred among the non-free classes; hence the unfree had no heirs through blood relationship. His heirs were all the occupiers of land in the township.

Now here we possibly have an explanation of how it is that Sir John Davies, for example, in one place inveighs against the scrambling and transitory nature of the Irish tenure, with its constant redistributions of the land, so that no man ever made improvements, or planted, or built, and yet, in another place he says that "almost every acre of land hath a several owner, which termeth himself a lord, and his portion of land his country." And we find in the grant of certain lands in Co. Wicklow to Sir W. Parsons, and also in various inquisitions in the printed volume *Lagenia*, a fractional division of lands, which can best be explained as representing the rights of an individual of a free kindred at an ultimate division.[1]

So we find that Callogh McBirne Mc I Callogh Birne had a seventh of a fourth of each of five denominations, a seventh of a sixteenth of each of ten others, a seventh of a sixth of another, while Gerrold McBrien Mc I Callogh (obviously a brother of the foregoing) held the same proportions of each of the same denominations. And, in another case, four persons, each had a fourth of a sixteenth of each of ten denominations.

The uncertain, transitory possession would have

[1] In a grant to Sir W. Parsons, 5th of James I, the lands of about 70 O'Byrnes are mentioned. In most cases the former owners are described as "gent."

marked the *tir cyfrif* or servile " register land " in Wales. As often as one holder died the whole land in the taeog maenol would be redivided. *Tir gwelyawc*, or " family land,"[1] though in theory divisible, in practice was divided only at comparatively long intervals, perhaps only at the death of all the grandsons of the original owner. But at any given moment every member of the kindred knew what his share ought to be in the event of an actual division.

We may also, perhaps, explain the account given by Sir Henry Piers of what seems to be the joint letting of a townland to what he calls the *sculloges* or inferior rank of husbandmen or boors, where the pasture was grazed in common, but the tillage divided annually into so many lots as there were ploughs in the " town," sometimes two, three or more persons joining in supplying one plough and its team, by referring it to a community originally of servile origin, holding lands jointly as did the occupiers of the Welsh unfree maenol.

I come back now to my original query : is this subject of land tenures in Ireland a subject within the grasp of the average schoolboy ? It is, as the preceding pages show, a complex one, full of doubtful points, of half grasped facts. And I have only dealt with general outlines. Real difficulties begin only when one comes to actual concrete applications of principles. I have made no attempt in the foregoing to deal with these.

The " tribal system " as expounded by Mr. Seebohm makes us continually pause and ask for farther explanation. If we could bring to life the aged brehon of Fermanagh, O'Bristan, of whom Sir John Davies gives us such a tantalising glimpse, with the old roll in a fair Irish character which he reluctantly drew from out of his bosom, where he did continually bear it about him, he would solve for us in a few moments problems which

[1] This was the land held by the *gwelys* or kindreds (literally *beds*) of free land owners.

the patient toil of an O'Curry, or an O'Donovan, or a Mac Neill has so far failed to unravel. In the foregoing pages I have confined myself chiefly to the relationships between the holders of land and the King. There remains the much more complicated question of the relationships of the landholders with one another. Here again Welsh evidence will help us towards at least some understanding of the state of affairs in Ireland.

To sum up the points which I have endeavoured to make clear in the foregoing pages, we find in England and in those parts of Ireland colonised by the Norman invaders a system of dual ownership, all land being held on the ultimate title of a grant from the King; a personal and contractual relationship between vassal and lord, tenant and landlord: ownership in severalty, the inheritance passing undivided to the eldest son: and differences of social status depending not on blood, but, if we look at realities, on wealth, since there is no legal barrier to a passage from one point in the social scale to another.

We find, on the other hand, in Wales and in Gaelic Ireland among the freemen something approaching absolute ownership: the land held by groups of kinsmen, subject to certain dues to the sovereign, who in Wales is not necessarily, but who in Ireland usually is or is supposed to be, of the same blood as the subject land-owners: all males of a land-owning kindred having rights to land, and so, in contrast to England, a great number of small owners, all looking on themselves as "gentry" through being born to land: a sharp and, in Wales at any rate, an almost impassable distinction of blood between free and non-free, the latter being tenants to the chief or to the land-owning groups: and an elaborate fiscal system by which both classes contribute to the support of the sovereign.

These may be said to be the salient features in which "Celtic" tenures differ from "Foreign." W. F. Butler.

CHRONICLE

I.—Some Recent Books about Lourdes

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

SHORTLY before the outbreak of war in 1914 two descriptions of Lourdes appeared in English: *Lourdes* by Mgr. R. H. Benson (London: Manresa Press. 2nd edition, 1914) and an English translation of Jörgensen's *Lourdes* (Longmans, 1914), the latter with a characteristically trenchant preface by Mr. Hilaire Belloc.[2] Since the war there has been what may be described as a renewed offensive on the Lourdes front in the general campaign against Protestant ignorance and prejudice. Dom Francis Izard, O.S.B., of Caldey Abbey, who is a medical man as well as a Catholic priest, has published three translations from the French: *Twenty Cures at Lourdes* by Dr. F. de Grandmaison de Bruno, with a preface by Sir Bertram Windle (Sands, 1920); *The Medical Proof of the Miraculous* by Dr. E. Le Bec, with a preface by Mr. Ernest E. Ware, Senior Surgeon to the Hospital of SS. John and Elizabeth, London (Harding and More, 1922); and *The Facts of Lourdes and the Medical Bureau* by Dr. A. Marchand (Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1924). The last few weeks have added three more publications to the list, as may be seen from the titles given at the foot of this page; and it is perhaps time for a sort of general stock-taking on behalf of the reading public.

Books about Lourdes fall naturally into two classes: those which attempt to describe Lourdes, usually from personal experience, or to tell the story of Bernadette and the apparitions, and those which undertake a scientific analysis of certain selected miracles

[1] *The Wonder of Lourdes: what it is and what it means.* By John Oxenham. (With 16 Illustrations). London: Longmans. 1924. 1*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.*

Bernadette of Lourdes. By the Rev. C. C. Martindale, S.J. London: Catholic Truth Society. 1924. 2*d.*

The Facts of Lourdes and the Medical Bureau. By Dr. A. Marchand. Translated by Dom Francis Izard, O.S.B., M.R.C.S. (Illustrated). London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1924. 4*s.* 6*d.*

On Miracles and some other Matters. By Sir Bertram, C. A. Windle, M.D., F.R.S. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1924. 6*s.*

[2] I take this opportunity of saying once for all that practically all the works quoted in the course of this article are to be found in the Catholic Central Library, 16 Hawkins Street, Dublin.

in the interest of Christian apologetics. The narratives of Jörgensen. Mgr. Benson, Fr. Martindale and Mr. John Oxenham belong to the former class. They have all substantially the same story to tell: a story which is familiar to every Catholic, and which must by now be familiar, at least in its main outlines, to most non-Catholics. Jörgensen's name, apart from the real merits of his book, is perhaps most likely to attract modern readers; but I should like to put in a good word for Fr. Martindale's pamphlet, which has the singular charm of providing you with 64 pages of admirable writing for 2*d*. Mr. John Oxenham's book is, as a matter of fact, shorter than Fr. Martindale's pamphlet, and contains much less information. Yet it is perhaps the most significant contribution yet made to English literature about Lourdes. For Mr. Oxenham, in spite of his obvious enthusiasm, does not write as a Catholic.

> I, the writer of this [he tells us], am a Protestant, a Free Churchman, and though I have many very dear Roman Catholic friends, and know, to my own exceeding self-reproach, that most of them practise their religion much more faithfully than most of us do our own, I have no leanings whatever to the Church of Rome.

But Mr. Oxenham has been to Lourdes, and his description of what he saw there—the faith, the charity, the patient suffering, the intense sincerity of all, whether sick or attendant on the sick—will be read and remembered by thousands who would never read a Catholic book on the subject. And his final words are worth quoting:

> But whatever conclusions you come to, remember this—Lourdes is to-day, without question, one of the great facts and factors in the spiritual life of France and of Europe . . . .
>
> Lourdes is a quickener of souls, an exalter of hearts and minds, and a proved healer of bodies by means entirely unknown to medical science . . . .
>
> For myself, I believe Lourdes to be a genuine revelation of the goodness of God to a world which, every day, stands more and more in need of it.

So open an avowal of faith in the supernatural character of what happens at Lourdes comes somewhat strangely (though it be all the more welcome) from one who has "no leanings whatever to the Church of Rome"; and Mr. Oxenham deserves the thanks of every Catholic for his frank statement of what he believes to be the truth. And his attitude is probably more common among English Protestants than we in this country suspect. Fr. Thurston has recently contrasted the modern attitude towards Lourdes with what he calls "the *début* of Lourdes before English opinion" in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties.[1] Times have changed indeed

[1] See the *Month* for May, 1924, pp. 406-416.

if it be true, as he says, that no English Catholic paper so much as alluded to Bernadette and the miracles at Lourdes before 1862, some time after the authoritative decision of the Bishop of Tarbes. All that the English public knew of Lourdes in those early years was learnt from an occasional contemptuous reference in the *Times* or the *Daily Telegraph*, with a jibe at the astute management of the Roman clergy or the credulity of M. Louis Veuillot.

But perhaps the most striking testimony to the change that has come over public opinion in both England and Ireland may be found in Sir Bertram Windle's recent essay on miracles. For fear of misleading the reader, I had better add that Sir Bertram's book, in spite of its title, has very little to do with miracles if you except one essay out of nine : the remaining eight touch on a variety of subjects, from a biographical sketch of the Oratorian, Fr. Henry Ignatius Ryder, back—past Galileo and the early history of English medicine and surgery—to Mithras and Mithraism, and so finally to pre-historic man. Here is what Sir Bertram has to say about Lourdes :—

> I can carry back my recollection to a time when opinion outside the Catholic Church was very different in respect to modern miracles from that which obtains to-day. More than half a century ago, when I was a boy and being brought up in the straitest circles of Irish Evangelical Protestantism, no one with whom I came in contact would ever have held, or ever did hold, any other idea about such things but that they were priestly frauds . . . . Thank God that day has passed. Indifferentism ! Well, no doubt in part that explains it, but so far as the question of miracles is concerned not entirely ; not even more than partially. What has brought about this change can be summed up in one word—Lourdes. Lourdes is a fact which cannot be got over ; it has to be explained, and of course there have been explanations more than one attempted.

By way of illustrating such attempted explanations, Sir Bertram refers to the letter on Lourdes in *The Corner of Harley Street ;* a book which, so he assures us, " under the cover of a pseudonym is known to be the work of a physician on the staff of one of the largest London hospitals." Suggestion is, in this case, the attempted explanation ; but Sir Bertram quotes the letter for its admission that there can be no question of conscious fraud. This is an advance on even recent years ; for in 1910 Sir Henry Morris, Fellow and ex-President of the Royal College of Surgeons, openly charged the authorities at Lourdes with fraud in an article which he contributed to the *British Medical Journal* of June 18, 1910.[1] But suggestion—blessed word !—is not likely to hold the field for long as an explanation of what happens at Lourdes. As Mr. Belloc puts it : " If what happens at Lourdes is the result of self-suggestion,

[1] See Fr. Thurston's reply in the *Month* (August, 1910).

why cannot men, though exceptionally yet in sufficient numbers, suggest themselves into health in Pimlico or the Isle of Man ?" Or again—and this is a point more difficult to answer—even though suggestion should account for many of the cures at Lourdes, how can it account for well-attested cures of cancer, ulcers or fractured limbs ?

And this brings me to the second class of books to which I have referred : those which state the medical evidence for certain selected cures in scientific terms. Obviously, such books are written primarily for doctors, and can be judged only by doctors. But Dom Izard has chosen for translation three works which, though claiming to be judged as works of accurate science, are yet written in language that makes the argument intelligible for ordinary readers. Those who have not yet made the acquaintance of these books may be grateful for the following summary.

Dr. de Grandmaison and Dr. Le Bec cover practically the same field, though from slightly different points of view. Dr. de Grandmaison bases his argument on twenty specially selected cases. This selection, we need hardly say, is not meant to imply any doubt as to the authentic character of miracles claimed by other writers. But medical interest has been thoroughly roused in France and on the Continent generally, and it is essential to present doctors with a record of cases in which the hypothesis of suggestion is obviously untenable and the medical evidence as precise as possible. Dr. de Grandmaison's twenty cures include a large variety of diseases and cover a period of twenty years, from August 21, 1891 to August 21, 1911.[1] For each case authentic documents are cited, and the clinical evidence is given in full. Four chapters follow in which the leading features of the different cures are summarized and compared, and objections are answered in a concluding chapter. Sir Bertram Windle ends his preface with the words : " The case now stands for the verdict of the Medical Faculty, and it will be hard for them to argue that the instances brought under their notice can be explained in terms of ordinary clinical experience."

Dr. Le Bec's book, originally written as a paper for the Eucharistic congress held at Lourdes in July, 1914, is an attempt at a synthesis of what the author calls " The Physiology of the Supernatural." In the eight chapters which form Part One of his work he describes, with all a Frenchman's genius for clear and sustained reasoning, the processes naturally required for the various cures which he discusses, and contrasts these processes with the instan-

[1] In his *Facts of Lourdes and the Bureau* Dr. A. Marchand gives the medical records of five cures which took place during the French National Pilgrimage of 1921.

taneous operation of the supernatural. For a layman these chapters are more helpful than anything else I have read on the subject. Possibly a trained medical observer would accuse the author of unduly labouring his argument; but Dr. Le Bec is writing for a double audience. In Part Two, Dr. Le Bec gives the medical evidence on which he rests his proof. Here is the list of diseases and cures which he describes: varicose veins, suppurative fracture of the leg, non-suppurative fracture of the thigh, vertebral tuberculosis and hip-disease, ulcer, lupus, club feet, tuberculous peritonitis with intestinal perforation, intestinal perforations with fistulae, recurrent cancer of the cheek, recurrent cancer of the tongue, pulmonary tuberculosis. I may add that the three books translated by Dom Izard are all admirably illustrated with photographs which may not always be pleasant to the eye, but are of great service in re-inforcing the argument.

Of the cures described by Dr. de Grandmaison (six of which are also described by Dr. Le Bec) the most famous are probably the three with which Zola made the French public familiar under the names of La Grivotte, Elise Rouquet and Sophie Couteau. La Grivotte, whose real name is Marie Lebranchu, was cured of advanced pulmonary tuberculosis on August 20, 1892. In Zola's novel she is made to die shortly after her return from Lourdes; in sober fact she was still alive and well at least as late as 1914. Dr. de Grandmaison's record of this case is particularly interesting as an example of the unscrupulous way in which Zola modified the facts to suit his purpose. In the case of Marie Lemarchand (Elise Rouquet), who was cured of an ulcerated sore on the face, due to trophic neurosis, Dr. de Grandmaison admits that the sudden disappearance of paralytic symptoms which accompanied the cure was not necessarily miraculous, but claims that the instantaneous healing of the ulcer "lies beyond the field of pathology." And his verdict is the same on the case of Clémentine Trouvé (Sophie Couteau), who was suddenly cured of tuberculous osteo-periostitis of the right heel on August 21, 1891.

But the classical example of a modern miracle is the cure of Pierre De Rudder, which took place at the shrine of Our Lady at Oostacker in Belgium on April 7, 1875. Both Dr. de Grandmaison and Dr. Le Bec describe this cure, and it is also discussed in full by Sir Bertram Windle in his recent essay on miracles. Pierre was a farm-labourer who had suffered for eight years from a compound fracture of the leg, due to the fall of a tree. Both bones of his leg refused to reunite under medical treatment, so that it was possible to twist the lower part of the leg completely round without

moving the knee. All the grim details of this case (and the evidence is abundant) are given in full by the three authors whom I have named. De Rudder finally made a pilgrimage to Oostacker, in spite of the advice of his friends, and there this hideous fracture was suddenly and completely cured. Both Dr. Le Bec and Sir Bertram Windle discuss in detail the physiological processes needed to explain the working of this sudden cure. Their analysis is of remarkable interest, but less impressive than the simple statement of the facts. Pierre De Rudder lived for twenty-three years after this cure, was able to walk about like an ordinary man, and finally died of pneumonia at the age of seventy-five. Was all this due to suggestion ?

Needless to say, Dr. de Grandmaison's verdict on these and similar cures is not accepted by all his colleagues of the Medical Faculty. Many of them, possibly the majority, will sympathise with the bald statement of a German doctor, quoted by Dr. Le Bec : " The case of Pierre De Rudder cannot be true because it would be an affront offered to all the laws of biology and pathology." To which Dr. Le Bec not unfairly retorts : " The expression *affront* is strong, but it is justified, for a miracle does go counter to biological laws, since it does not conform to those formulated by human science. For some scientists this fact is one to be much regretted."

The easiest way out of the difficulty for such scientists is, of course, to deny the evidence in *globo ;* and this has been duly attempted in the case of Pierre De Rudder. Unfortunately for the theorists the evidence, medical and otherwise, is particularly minute and accurate ; but I must refer the reader to any of the three books which I have quoted. More convenient because more elusive, is the sneer at the Medical Bureau of Lourdes. " Lourdes, my dear lady ? " says a character in Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, " Lourdes ? How can there be the smallest doubt of the miracles of Lourdes ? Why ! they keep two doctors on the spot to verify everything ! " Nor are these criticisms confined to non-Catholics. At a recent meeting of the London branch of the Guild of St. Luke, St. Cosmas and St. Damian, reported in the *Catholic Medical Guardian* for July, 1923, a paper on the lines of Dr. Le Bec's *Medical Proof of the Miraculous* was read by Dr. Donald Buchanan. The discussion which followed the paper seems to have been somewhat confused, and only two of the speeches are reported in the *Guardian*. In one Dr. A. M. Ross describes a recent cure of which he had personal knowledge, and which resulted in the conversion of the patient's doctor, a Protestant. The second speaker, Dr. F. M. R. Walshe, whilst admitting the possibility of

miracles at Lourdes, expressed views of extreme scepticism as to the actual cures claimed, even by writers like de Grandmaison and Le Bec. " Gross errors of observation, conflict of evidence and bad diagnosis " are characteristic of the clinical records presented by these authors ; of the twenty or thirty cures " unanimously selected by the apologists as medically irrefutable," some " will not bear the most cursory analysis " ; and the speaker concluded by saying " that the conditions obtaining at Lourdes were so unfavourable, and the Bureau, from the impossible circumstances in which it was content to work, was a tribunal of such negligible value that the claims of the apologists must be regarded as not established."

I do not quote these criticisms with a view to disparaging the works which I have already described, but rather in the hope that some competent medical critic will give us his considered opinion on the medical evidence supplied by Dr. de Grandmaison and Dr. Le Bec. For myself, I find it hard to believe that " the apologists " should have been so grossly careless as to select—and that " unanimously "—a series of cases which " will not bear the most cursory analysis " ; but we must leave such matters to the judgment of doctors. Any doctor can satisfy his personal curiosity at the expense of a few shillings, for the books are there, and can be read by all. But there is one point alluded to by Dr. Walshe which can be answered immediately. What are " the impossible circumstances " in which the Medical Bureau of Lourdes is content to work ?

In his *Facts of Lourdes and the Medical Bureau* Dr. A. Marchand, who is Dr. Boissarie's successor as President of the Bureau, tells the story of the work done by his predecessors since the Bureau was first founded by Dr. de St. Maclou in 1885. It is a story over which one could gladly linger, for Lourdes has the gift of evoking the spirit of self-sacrifice in all who go there. But I shall content myself with two quotations, which are better calculated to dissipate prejudice than a volume of apologetics.

In the first (p. 75) Dr. Marchand describes the usual mode of procedure at the Bureau :—

> In the majority of the cases the cures are studied by doctors having no official connection with the Bureau ; they embrace experienced general practitioners, specialists, etc., whose names are invariably inscribed in our registers, and whose good faith cannot for one moment be called in question.
>
> Not infrequently the examinations are made by the doctors who have had the patient under their care during the malady in question. In this case we demand full particulars from them, and in return give our unbiased opinion, so that in a measure they are constrained to control the reports that are published concerning their patients.

And two pages further on :—

All medical men, without respect of nationality or religious belief, have only to knock at the door of the Bureau, and give evidence that they are medical men, to be at once invited to enter and examine the cases. The question of the miraculous is not mentioned, no one is asked to believe in the supernatural. They are simply invited to give their advice as clinicians.

And on p.103 statistics are given of the number of doctors who have visited the Medical Bureau since 1892 : at first slightly over a hundred each year, then rising steadily until the maximum (670) was reached in 1913, then dropping to single figures during the war-years and rising again to 400 in 1921,—in all a total of 7,828.

I should like to go on quoting from Dr. Marchand's answers to the critics of Lourdes, but I have said enough already, and more than enough. After all Mr. Belloc's advice is, in the long run, the best of all ; and it applies to doctors as well as to the man in the street. " It is my advice," he says in his Preface to Jörgensen's *Lourdes*, " especially to those who have no devotion or faith, but whose minds are none the less free and who have the means and the leisure, to go to Lourdes and see what they shall see. It is much the greatest experience in travel they are likely to have in the modern world." AUBREY GWYNN.

II.—A Visit to the Ruins of Asshur

BY HERBERT EDWARDS

SIXTY miles to the south of Mosul, on the right bank of the River Tigris, stands a small Arab village named Shergat or Qalat Sherqat. It has nothing remarkable to distinguish it from neighbouring villages in the surrounding desert, except that it is built of bricks and stones obtained from the ruins of the ancient city of Asshur which lie near it.

" Out of that land [*i.e.*, Shinar or Babylonia] came forth Asshur and built Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Kalah . . . . " (Genesis x. 11.). This quotation contains a statement of an important historical incident. The event, the going forth of Asshur, is the seed from which sprang the Assyrian Empire, one of the greatest of the ancient world.

Asshur was the second son of Shem and a grandson of Noah. In the above-quoted sentence the name " Asshur " does not refer to the individual but to his descendants, the people or the tribe of Asshur. Each separate tribe of the primitive races of Eastern origin adopted the name of an eponymous ancestor, which served to identify it. This was a custom also followed by ancient European

nations. The Hebrews named themselves after Eber or Heber, a grandson of Shem ; the Canaanites after Canaan, a son of Ham. The Assyrians were the " Asshur-ai," the children or descendants of Asshur.

The journey " out of that land " was an episode in the general migration of the Semitic peoples (the descendants of Shem) from the overcrowded Babylonian plain. This exodus in search of " pastures new " continued through several centuries. Abraham's journey to the land of Canaan was another, but later, episode of it.

It must not be supposed that the members of the tribe of Asshur merely gathered up their belongings and marched direct, by daily stages, to the land of their choice. Although the distance from Babylonia was only about 300 miles, their journey occupied many years. They and their animals needed food. Hence they were obliged to halt for periods to enable them to sow corn, wait for it to ripen and then harvest it. The rainfall in the Land of the Two Rivers is small and uncertain. Much water was necessary for themselves and their large flocks and herds. This obliged them to follow closely the courses of the rivers.

At length they reached a country that satisfied their needs. Here they found a ready-made city inhabited by a population of Turanian origin and civilisation. Of this they took possession, absorbed its original inhabitants, and introduced the higher Semitic culture they had brought from Babylonia. The dominant and intellectual Semites always imposed their superior laws, culture and religion on the Yellow Race, wherever they came into contact with it. History throws no light upon the events that led to the occupation of this city by the Semites. It is generally agreed, however, that traces abound which point to an earlier civilisation and a submerged race.

They re-named the city after their common ancestor. Asshur was originally a city-state which gradually dominated its neighbours and became the nucleus of the powerful Assyrian Empire. Asshur was the city god who became the national god of Assyria.

In his narrative of the migration of the Assyrians the writer of *Genesis* makes no reference to the building of Asshur. He does not even mention the city. We may assume, therefore, that the children of Asshur, on their arrival, found it already built and occupied. The writer of *Genesis* lived many centuries after the time of the Assyrian migration of which he wrote. Asshur was then no longer the capital. She had lost her importance and, therefore, the Hebrew historian took no notice of her. She had become merely an outpost of Assyria, a provincial city.

Lying between the Jebel Hamrin and the River Tigris, on a spur jutting out from the main range, are the ruins of the earliest capital of Assyria. One hundred and fifty feet above the level of the dead city rises a cone-shaped mound. This is the remnant of the tower of the temple of the god Asshur. Many other ruined temples lie here, including those of Anu and Adad (the god of heaven and the god of the weather or sky), that of Bel (the lord) and of Ishtar (the love-goddess) the Ashtaroth of the Hebrews and the Astarte of the Greeks.

Many records of great historical interest, inscribed in cuneiform characters on bricks and clay tablets, have been discovered in the excavated ruins. These are chiefly eulogies of monarchs, describing their conquests and their skill in the chase. They appear to have always met with success; nothing is said of their failures. Their piety, and their services rendered to the gods in the building and restoring of their temples, are not forgotten. In fact, the rulers seem to have been the sole owners of copyright. No commoners appear to have left records of their opinions to posterity.

One, Shamshi-adad, writes of himself thus: "Anu and Bel selected me from among all the kings who went before me to do great acts." He claims to be "king of the universe," and states that he "conquered the land of Laban on the border of the Great Sea" (Lebanon and the Mediterranean).

The earliest written record found at Asshur was left by one Erishum, who was *patesi* of that city about 2,030 B.C. In it he states that he restored the temple of Asshur.

The title of *patesi* was held by the rulers of the city-states of the early days. These were both the spiritual and temporal heads of the communities, priest-kings. A Biblical example of this type of ruler is found in Melchisedek, who was "king of Salem . . . . priest of the most high God." (Gen. xiv.' 18.).

It appears that the early Assyrian city-states were but provinces of Babylonia. In time they grew powerful, combined as one kingdom under the ruler of Asshur, and cast off the yoke of the southern autocracy. Having thus established her independence, Assyria soon became a power in the East. The armies of Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-ninib I carried her name and made her feared far beyond her borders.

Her area of conquest continued to extend. Her military expeditions were a series of almost unbroken successes. The greater strategical value of the positions of both Kalah and Nineveh were realised. The capital was then transferred first to Kalah and, finally, to Nineveh about 880 B.C. Asshur, however, remained an important city to the last.

The visitor to the ruins of this earliest capital of Assyria sees evidences of the high standard of civilisation attained by its dwellers. Ruined temples, palaces and dwellinghouses, laid bare by modern excavators, tell their own tale. He can see the remains of streets paved with marble slabs ; at the sides of which are deep, worn grooves, used as gutters, running the whole length of the street. Both kiln-burnt and sun dried clay bricks were used for building. Good clay is obtained in plenty in the vicinity. A large number of the bricks were coated with bitumen. This doubtless increased their life. Limestone, marble and alabaster were used for ornamental and decorative purposes.

Wells with bricked sides in good condition still remain. It is difficult to believe that some were sunk three thousand year ago. Many are now almost filled with earth and rubble. A few still remain open to a depth of fifty feet or more.

The courtyard of a ruined building, probably a temple, is paved with many-coloured pebbles of varying sizes. These are arranged in the form of stars. Each of which has a large stone for its centre with lines of smaller ones radiating outward.

Deep in the earth, near the ruined temple of Asshur, is a royal sepulchre, well-built of cubit-square bitumen-covered bricks. Its only content now is a huge empty sarcophagus, hewn from solid rock and weighing a ton or more. Here, no doubt, once rested the mortal remains of a great king, his wives and some royal attendants. A small company that, one day in the dead past, was ferried by Urubel the Ferryman across the Waters of Death to the gates of the dread Abysm of Urugal.

Scattered in profusion on the northern side of the main mound lie a large number of huge blocks of hewn stone. These once formed the high, massive wall which was the outer defensive work of the city on that side. Here also stand the ruined remains of the North Gate, from which can be traced the causeway that carried the ancient highway to the north. The road level was raised above the surrounding plain in order that it might escape being flooded each year when the Tigris overflowed its banks. Countless millions —kings, soldiers, traders and captives—have tramped or ridden along this road to and from the cities of the North, of Asia Minor and Syria.

Asshur's strongest fortifications were raised on the southern face of the city. This was its vulnerable point. On the other three sides it was almost impregnable.

At the foot of the main mound the soft soil is full of the debris of past human habitation. The remains of several cities lie one

above the other, each built upon the rubble and ruins of former ones. Here are found decayed bones that crumble to dust at touch, blue-glazed potsherds and black patches of earth, the remains of ashes of long-dead fires. Nothing but these are left of the wealth and glory of a great city.

The surrounding plains of rich, alluvial clay produced in abundance the cereals, vegetables and fruits necessary to human and animal life. The meagre rainfall was supplemented by a very efficient system of irrigation, the remains of which can still be traced. That these ancients were highly intelligent is evident. The amount of labour used in the construction of the canals and dams must have been prodigious.

Stone, alabaster and marble for decorative building were obtained from the neighbouring hills. Bitumen and crude petroleum oozed up to the surface of the ground in small quantities, as it does to-day. More was obtained by easy digging.

The produce of the forests of Armenia and Anatolia—the wood for building houses, chariots, etc.—was floated down the Tigris. Lighter merchandise was carried down the broad river on " keleks " (inflated goat-skin and wood rafts), as it is to-day. These goods were unloaded at the quay built by one of the numerous monarchs named Adad-nirari in the 15th century B.C. Its remains can still be clearly traced.

The year 612 B.C. is now agreed to be the date of the destruction of Nineveh.[1] The capital fallen, the whole of the empire rapidly became involved in the great catastrophe. Asshur fell also.

Varied opinions exist as to the identity of the conquerors. Herodotus ascribes the conquest to Cyaxares, the Mede. Ancient writers who quote from the records of Berosus—a Babylonian priest who wrote in Greek and lived during the Grecian occupation of Mesopotamia—give as invaders the allied Medes and Babylonians. (It is a misfortune that the greater part of the writings of Berosus are lost. From the few that are preserved he is judged to have written reliable history). Another account states that the Medes and Babylonians besieged Nineveh for three years. At the end the Tigris rose in a great flood and destroyed a part of the defences of the city. The King, in despair, heaped his treasures in a huge funeral pyre, 400 feet high, and immolated himself and his wives in the burning mass. Thus fell Nineveh.

Neighbouring nations rejoiced at the humbling of this turbulent and tyrannical race. For more than ten centuries it had been the greedy land-pirate of the East. Assyrian kings had conquered

[1] Cf. C. J. Gadd : *The Fall of Nineveh.* (British Museum, 1923).

territory extending from the Caspian Sea to the Levant, and from the Black Sea almost to the shore of the Persian Gulf. They subjugated whole nations; the majority of which they enslaved. These captives provided the labour for the enormous tasks of building Assyrian cities and public works. The Koyunjik Mound at Nineveh, upon which stood the palaces of Sennacherib and Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus), was built by captive labour. An authority has estimated that it took 20,000 men ten years to raise this huge artificial mound. The Assyrians pursued a policy of "frightfulness" towards weaker nations. When the end came, none would aid them.

Their downfall was caused by their greed for wealth and power. The magnificent army, that had shaken its mailed fist so successfully in the face of the whole known world of those days, was scattered thinly over a wide-spread empire. Sufficient force could not be concentrated in time to resist the fatal invasion of their capital.

Though Assyria had terrorised the East for ten centuries, its dread name was soon forgotten. In the year 401 B.C., two centuries after the fall of Nineveh, Xenophon and the "Ten Thousand" camped on its deserted ruins. Scholar and historian though he was, he miscalls the mighty Nineveh "Mespila." In the Anabasis, the famous narrative of his travels, he also states that it was a city inhabited by Medes which was captured and destroyed by the king of Persia. This is incorrect. At the time of Assyria's downfall Persia was merely a weak tributary state of Media. Only two centuries had passed, two little drops of time! So soon had the once dreaded name of Assyria vanished from the memories of men!

Forty centuries (or more, perhaps) have come and gone since Asshur became the cradle of the Assyrian Empire. For twenty-five centuries she has stood thus, deserted and lonely. Sadly she looks across the silent deserts, a forlorn figure, a mournful monument. Many successive times in the past have the sacrilegious feet of foreign conquerors desecrated her sacred places. And now Briton and Indian, these last, have come. Alien warriors, each in their day, have looked towards the East from the summit of that quaint, cone-shaped mound—the ruined tower of the Temple of Asshur—whence, once, the priests of a forgotten religion worshipped the Sun-god, Shamash, as he rose each morning from behind the mountains of Media—as he does even to this day.

HERBERT EDWARDS.

REVIEWS

Biography

IGNATIUS LOYOLA. An attempt at an Impartial Biography. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. London: Macmillan. 1923. 15s. net.

BELIEVING that there is at present no adequate biography of Loyola in English, the author sets forth to remedy the defect, to tell the story of his life as it is presented in the original sources. Impartiality is what he principally aims at. On the whole it may be admitted that he has not been unsuccessful in this aim. So far as the ordinary, natural, human life of the saint is concerned, the work seems free from misrepresentation; certainly the author is never consciously unfair. He has devoted much care to the collection and presentation of his material. He is moreover free from the grosser prejudices.

And yet the result is not fully satisfactory. Its limitations are too frequently forced on the notice of any reader who shares the "medievalism" of St. Ignatius. There is in fact no real sympathy with what is most essential and characteristic—the supernatural element. We have a biography of Ignatius with the soul, the vital principle, not exactly left out, but treated as something bizarre, something belonging to the infancy of the race. The importance of "medievalism" in forming the saint's view of life and guiding his conduct is made quite clear, but it is obviously treated as a weakness. The self-complacency of the modern "enlightened man" is calculated to irritate those whom it does not amuse: an occasional expression of doubt only succeeds in contributing an air of uncertainty. This biography, in fact, is too "external"; and we doubt if from it the reader will be able to understand either the enthusiasm aroused by Loyola or the tremendous success of his mission.

I have dwelt on what seems to me the main weakness of this book; but within the limitations thus indicated the author has done his work in a very commendable fashion; it is his psychology rather than his "investigation of sources"—his "research"—that is at fault.

The better to illustrate the influence and character of Loyola Mr. Sedgwick devotes some space to short but sympathetic sketches of the work and personalities of the early members of the society.

This minor and subsidiary portion of the work exhibits, though in a less degree, the same defects and the same merits as the treatment of the main subject.

On the whole a lot of earnest work has been put into this volume.

J. M. O'S.

ROBERT DE NOBILI, S.J. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Missions-methode und der Indologie. By P. Dr. Peter Dahmen, S.J. Munster : Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1924. 3*s.* 6*d.*

FATHER DAHMEN informs us that this brochure of 82 pages is the first monograph ever devoted to the life of Robert de Nobili. If so, it is an extraordinary fact ; for de Nobili was a pioneer both as missionary and as scholar, and thousands of biographies have been written about much less interesting and important historical figures. This work, therefore, ought to find a welcome from all who know German and are seriously concerned about missionary methods or Sanscrit and Oriental studies. Further it is a contribution to hagiography for which we owe the author heartfelt thanks.

Curiously enough it does not add greatly to our knowledge of the broad facts of de Nobili's career as told in the larger histories of the Society of Jesus or of the Eastern Missions. But if it does not enlarge our knowledge of *what* he did, it makes clearer *how* he did it and, above all, *why* he did it in his own novel way. Fr. Dahmen's picture of the situation that faced de Nobili when he went to India as a young missioner is an ample apology for his much criticised behaviour, if such an apology be any longer called for. Earlier workers in the vineyard had offended against every racial prejudice of the people whom they sought to convert. De Nobili determined to respect, as far might be, the fact that East is East. He sought to adapt Christian theology, in its entirety and its purity, to the mental and social environment of Madura. He accepted the detestable caste system, as the early Church accepted the detestable system of slavery, for the simple reason that it was not intrinsically evil, and thus could be tolerated till time and Christian morality would make a clean sweep of it. He was really only following out St. Paul's maxim of becoming all things to all men that he might gain all for Christ, and one has only to peruse the documents with which Fr. Dahmen has enriched this little volume to see how false were the insinuations made against him, as if he wished to temporise with Oriental superstition or lower Christian ethics to the standard of Asia. These accusations, when they did not spring from sheer unreasoning dislike of the man, his order or

his Church, were due to the lack of imagination and sympathy which has so often frustrated the efforts and broken the hearts of humanity's pioneers. De Nobili was too strong a character to succumb ; and he lived to see his methods, with slight modifications and adaptations, crowned by a splendid measure of success. It must have been no small consolation to his old age, spent alas ! in blindness and seclusion, to hear of the thousands yearly being added to the Christian flock in the mission where he had " blazed the trail." P. J. Gannon.

Celtica

IRELAND AND WALES. Their historical and literary relations. By Cecile O'Rahilly, M.A. London : Longmans. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

The subject of the historical relations between Ireland and the Celts of Britain is one of peculiar interest to students of Irish and Welsh antiquities. Certain details have been investigated from time to time by various scholars, with varying results, but a comprehensive survey of the whole, even down to the period when Wales ceased to act as a separate political entity, has hitherto been wanting. Indeed it is only within a comparatively recent period that such a survey could have been hopefully undertaken. Historical research in these days involves the toil of labourers in many fields ; the archaeologist, the linguist, the palaeographer, the folklorist, and so on, must each render a contribution, and as these departments do not always progress all together at the same velocity, late discoveries in one may displace theories already agreed upon by all the others. In Miss O'Rahilly's essay, however, every point is examined with such scrupulous care and judgment that her work is not likely to be superseded as an accurate account of what is known of Irish and Welsh intercourse—military, commercial, ecclesiastical, linguistic and literary—during the periods she deals with. The investigation is not strictly confined to the ante-Norman period, but is continued further down, though the stream of evidence runs sadly shallow after the Tudors reached the throne of England.

The very name of the Irish race has a mysterious connection with Wales, for it is not conclusively proven whether its Welsh equivalent *Gwyddel* was borrowed from *Goedel*, or *Goedel* from it. Zimmer upheld the first explanation ; the second is suggested in a recent paper by Dr. MacNeill,[1] who thinks that the Welsh word may be formed from a cognate of Irish *fiad* (wilderness).

[1] Proc. RIA xxxvi. C. 16 pp. 265 ff.

He does not, by the way, make any observation on *Goidelg*, which denotes not only the Irish language, but is commonly used in Middle and Early Modern Irish in the sense of "speech," "utterance," "pronunciation."

Miss O'Rahilly adopts Zimmer's view, which seems on the whole to have more in its favour than the other. The problem of Goidelic and Brythonic immigrations is dealt with in the first part of the book. Until recent times the favoured theory has been, briefly, that the Goidels or Q-Celts came to Ireland through Britain, having sojourned in the latter country until the arrival of the Brythonic or P-Celts, who drove them on to the west coasts, whence they hastened over to Ireland. This theory, of which Sir John Rhys was the outstanding champion, has been opposed with great force of learning by several continental scholars, especially Zimmer. The arguments on both sides are here described and criticised, and the conclusion that the Goidels came to Ireland directly from the continent is shown to be favoured by the available evidence, archaeological, historical and linguistic.

The relations of Ireland and Wales throughout the period of records, down to the last quarter of the 12th century, are much as one might expect to find between two independent neighbouring nations of those ages. There was a fairly continuous coming and going between the two countries of refugees, exiled princes in search of levies, mercenaries, men of learning and piety, reavers, slave-traders, story-tellers, minstrels and merchants of various kinds. Books appear to have been exchanged; Irish scholars of the 10th century show a knowledge of the Welsh language; Welsh histories are rendered into Irish; Irish annalists record Welsh events, and Welsh annalists record Irish ones. The "free and direct intercourse" of the two independent nations ended, the author observes, with the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. Irish armies could no longer go to the aid of Wales, "Ireland was no longer a safe retreat for Welsh princes," and in the course of time the descendants of Owen Tudor were to direct from the throne of England a more deliberate campaign against Irish independence than their Anglo-Norman predecessors had ever attempted.

In the 16th century we find Welshmen complaining to those in high places of the "gret aboundance of Irisshemen" who were then settling in Wales: "The Kings Towne of Tenbye is almost cleane Irisshe as welle the hedde men and ruelers as the comyns of the said Towne." By this one is irresistibly reminded of recent complaints of a similar kind from another Celtic district in the neighbouring isle. Material is probably wanting for a study of

the Irish view of Wales and the Welsh during the 17th and 18th centuries; it is worthy of note that Seán Ó Murchadha na Raithíneach, a man well versed in Irish literature, a scholar for his time and environment, in fact, refers to Edward Lhuyd as *an Sasanuioch* and *an seabhac Gallda*. Keating, of course, knew something about the relations between Wales and Ireland, and would certainly have opposed with vigour of argument and wealth of citation Rhys's theories on the route of the Goidelic immigrants.

The deplorable destruction of manuscripts in both countries has left us without any hope of arriving at the details, or even constructing a satisfactory outline of the literary relations, perhaps the most important part of the whole question. Thus the sections on this are shorter than the interest of the subject merits, but probably as long as the surviving evidence justifies, and the detailed account of definite instances of exchange between the two literatures is worth any amount of airy speculation. That some of the better known Welsh tales embody reminiscences of Irish story is clearly demonstrated; apart from motifs, we have curious examples of rows of Irish names imbedded, as it were, in the Welsh narrative, sometimes clearly recognisable, as *Crychwr mab Nes*, sometimes in a distorted form, as *Coruil Beruach* for Conall Cernach. Such instances might support the suggestion that the name *Manannán mac Lir* is due to an Irish mistranscription of the Welsh *Manauidan map Llyr*. The *mac Lir* part certainly seems derived from the Welsh name, but is *Manannán mac Allóit*, a druid of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* who dwelt in Arran (in the Clyde), otherwise called *Emain Ablach*, an originally distinct personage whose name became confused with the Welsh one? See *Revue Celtique* 24, 274ff. *Emain Ablach*, which seems to have some connection with the Arthurian Avalon, is elsewhere assigned to the Isle of Man. In the later Irish romances, *Manannán* is certainly a magician rather than a sea-god. Undoubtedly the most striking and most tantalising witness to Irish influence on Welsh literature is found in the chapter on nature poetry, where early Welsh verses bearing an astonishing resemblance to parts of some well-known early Irish nature poems are cited. One is mournfully reminded that poems in spontaneous appreciation of natural beauty must have abounded in both countries in the period before the personal verse was crowded out by the work of the "official" rimers. The book concludes with lists of loan-words, and a brief note on Arthurian motifs in Irish literature, touching also on the question of Irish influence on the continental Arthurian Romances. This seductive subject demands a volume to itself, and one showing the standard of conscientious scholarship which

we see in the present essay would merit and receive an enthusiastic reception. E. K.

RAINN AGUS AMHRAIN. Cnuasacht rann agus amhrán ó Chonndae na Midhe, ó Chonndae Lughmhaidh agus ó Chonndae Ardmhacha. Eamonn Ó Tuathail, M.A., Árd-Mháighistir Choláiste Laighean, do thiomsuigh agus do chuir in eagar. Brún agus Ó Nóláin. 1924. 2*s.* 6*d.*

FEARAIM-SE mar aon fior-chaoin fáilte roimh an gcnuasacht seoid seo thainig chughainn adtuaidh le deánaidhe. Gaedhilg fhiliota shean-chúigidh na Midhe mar do ríomhtaoi i ndánta san ochtmhadh h-aois déag é furmhór ábhair an leabhráin seo. Tá cuspaí saothair seacht bhfilí déag le fagháil ann. Nuair adeirim go bhfuil orrtha san Séamus Mhac Cuarta—an Dall, prímh-fhile Leath-Chuinn—Peadar Ó Dóirnín, Uilliam Mhac Ghiolla Chiaráin agus Pádraig Mhac Ghoilla Fhionndáin, ní beag san chum a chur in iúl don eolach méid an taithnimh bhéarfaidh léigheamh na ndréacht so dhó. Gheobhfar rud fé leith fós sa leabhar .i. an fhoirm shonnrádhach 'nar cumadh dhá cheann déag éigin de sna dánta atá ann, foirm dá ngoirthear " trí rainn is amhrán " de ;—na trí rainn agus dul dáin dírigh orrtha, le n-a gcuirtear cheithre línte deiridh ar dhul amhráin.

Nuair ba mhaith le Pádraig Mhac Ghiolla Fhionndain aoibhneas croidhe do chur ar Thoirdhealbhach O Cearbhallain, cheap sé é féin na " dhealbh-chruit " i lámha an Chearbhallanaigh. Annsan chrom se ar aithris dúinn coda éigin den draoidheacht oibreochadh ar an domhan Fodhlach an t-Orpheus nua so ar seinneamhaint dó ar an gcreann cheoil aisteach dhaona do chuir an file na láimh ; go ndubhairt, *inter alia* :—

Beidh mil is céir is toradh déise
Ag teacht dá éis go dearbhtha,
'S ceathanna éisc ar gach eas in Éirinn
is nid ag éanlaith in arbhar ;
Cluinfear béiceach na mara méithfe
le tonnaibh tréana in Albain,
Acht d'easbhaidh an éaga ní ghnóthaigheann cléire
an tuilleann déirce ar mharbhaibh !

Feách air sin agat ! Nach díreach é ná bíonn gort gan déasacha fiadhna ?

Seadh, ceannaigheadh an léightheoir an leabhrán ! Gheobhaidh sé ann ' ainnir spéisiúil ar shnuadh na gréine', más fonn leis a leithéid. Maran fonn, agus gur ochlánach mairgneach é, i masa gheobhaidh sé a mhacsamhail crot-lom féin fós ann .i. duine, agus a " chnámha mar thráithnín i meadhon earraigh." Nó más ceart is cóir is cneastacht cháich theastaigheas uaidh, casfar leis " údar nach

faiteach i leith an cheirt, Cú chráite gach éigceirt." Ó chioturrainn na " nighine áluinne " foghlmochaidh sé " cha bhíonn tubaiste muna mbíonn spré " ! Acht cá dtáim leis ?

Maidir le h-obair eagarthóireachta, tá sí ar fheabhas. Tá sí chomh maith sin nach miste a rádh ná gur chaith an saoi do rinne a léigheann is a aimsir léi. Chuir sé nótaí leis an dtéacs nar nocht sé dhúinn rúin na láimhscríbhinn agus eolas nach é. Chuir sé leis fós dinnseanchas, gluais, ainmeacha pearsanda, maille le leabhar-eolas agus eolas ar ré na n-údar. Molaim-se go h-árd é dá chionn san uile. Obair mhór-thábhachta é gan aon agó. Acht tá " acht," agus acht mhór féin agam-sa sa scéal. Go leathnach a 70 ní raibh againn acht Gaedhilg. *Cad ba ghá an tuile agus an díle Bhéarla as san amach ?* Nó an é tuairim an fhir eagair gur cuibhe an Ghaedhilg do choimeád fén ngné seo ógláchais go bruinn an bhrátha ? Thuigfinn dó é dá mba ceist eolaíochta bheadh dá pléidh aige, na mbeadh air sean-fhocail céirde d'aithbheóchaint nó focail tacair do chumadh as an nuadh. Taobh amuigh dhe'n chás so droich-bhéas is eadh feidhm an Bhéarla agus is mithid dúinn a chaitheamh uainn. Ar aon tslighe, an té do scríobh Reamh-Rádh an leabhair so, nil aon leath-scéal aige. Uime sin, daoraim-se go trom acht go cáirdeamhail sa choir seo an Bhéarla é.

Thug mé aon dearmad amháin fé ndeara sa ghluais. Sé an míniú thugann sé ar " go drásta " ná " now," " this time," " hitherto,' nó " up to this time " an Béarla ba chóir air. Tá an focal le fagháil i Lomnachtán ag bun leath. a 86 fé na riocht cheart .i. go dtrásta. Feách fós Ó Donnabháin fé " trasta " agus Windisch fé " tráth." Sé rud atá ann, dá bhrigh sin, gos (an) d-tráth-sa, maille le h-aistriú ionaid idir " s " agus " t."

On gcogadh i leith níor tairgeadh dúinn luach leath-choróinne is fearr de Ghaedhilg ná an leabhar so Éamuin Uasail Uí Thuathail. Gura fada mhairfidh sé a shaothar. MICHEAL MAC CRAITH.

PAIDREACHA NA nDAOINE. Searloit Ní Dhéisighe do bhailigh. An dara eagar. Clolucht an Talbóidigh. 1924.

MAITH an comhartha ar fheabhas an leabhairín ghleoite seo,—agus, dá n-abróchainn é, ar bhlas lucht na Gaedhilge, é bheith d'iachail ar na foillseóiri an dara eagar de do sholáthar. A chonách san fo mhíle ar an leabhar agus go ró-áirithe ar an té do thiomsaigh. Óir is maith thuillid araon a n-ádh. Go deimhin, dearbhtha, is mó seoid luachmhar chráibhidh ár sinnsear fé chlúdach an leabhairín seo. Gura mór gach seoid díobh ag aos óg na Gaedhilge atá ag éirghe chughainn i scoileanna na h-Éireann, agus gurab é an leabhairín seo an leabhar urnaithe is annsa leo !

Faghadh gach Gaedheal macsamhail de le h-aghaidh gach duine chloinne dá bhfuil aige. MICHEAL MAC CRAITH.

Economics

THE PROSPECTS OF INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION. By Bertrand Russell in collaboration with Dora Russell. London: Allen & Unwin. 1923. 7s. 6*d*.

ONE occasionally comes across a book which it is impossible to discuss within the limits of an ordinary review because of the importance of the subjects with which it deals or of the acuteness of the controversies to which it gives rise. Mr. Russell's latest volume is such a book. Anyone who has read Mr. Russell's other books knows that he will prove suggestive and stimulating, but even his most ardent admirers would scarcely have expected anything so exciting as his *Prospects of Industrial Civilization*. One hesitates to make use of such a widely abused epithet as "brilliant" to describe anything one really admires; but no other adjective would adequately describe this book, by reason alike of the profundity of the author's thought, the width of his vision, the range of his information, and the distinction of his style.

The book opens with a brief but lucid statement of the author's historical outlook:—

> At each stage a civilization which has reached a certain height and then grown decrepit was destroyed and a new one built upon its ruins, sometimes only after a considerable period of chaos. Our own civilization appears to be growing decrepit and ready to fall. In this we see only the cyclic movement of history; birth, growth, decay and death, in empires and civilizations, as with the beasts of the field. But when we compare any one civilization with its predecessors, we become aware of a definite advance, particularly in two respects: first, the increase of knowledge; and secondly the growth in the extent of organizations, more particularly of States. (pp. 15-16).

These tendencies will, it is prophesied, work in the direction of producing a world-state, in which national and racial differences will be subordinated to the welfare of the human race as a whole:—

> A world-state is only conceivable after the different parts of the world have become so intimately related that no part can be indifferent to what happens in any other part. This stage has now been reached. Until recent times the Far East had no vital relation to Europe. Until Columbus, America was isolated. Until Peter the Great, Russia had little connection with the Western Powers. The late war, by its universality of destruction, demonstrated the solidarity of mankind. And this solidarity has resulted from industrialism and mechanical inventions, both of which are products of science. It is science, ultimately, that makes our age different, for good or evil, from the ages that have gone before. And science, whatever harm it may cause by the way, is capable of bringing mankind ultimately into a far happier condition than any that has been known in the past. (pp. 16-17).

The progress of the world towards this desirable condition is impeded by certain forces, which are the outcome of mistaken ambitions on the part of men themselves. What are these forces and how do they operate? We shall let Mr. Russell answer in his own words:—

> There are in the world growing forces and diminishing forces. Among the latter some still remain very potent; but their heyday is passed, and they are doomed (if civilization escapes disaster) to dwindle more and more. Among the growing forces, two stand out pre-eminent among all others, namely Industrialism and Nationalism. Behind both of these, non-political itself, yet controlling all political occurrences, is Science. Industrialism and Nationalism both have two forms, one for the holders of power, the other for those who are struggling to emancipate themselves. Capitalism and Socialism are the two forms of Industrialism; Imperialism and the attempts to secure freedom for oppressed nations are the two forms of Nationalism. We have thus four great political forces in the world. The chaos in the world takes the form of a titanic conflict between these forces: Capitalism and Imperialism on the one side; Socialism and Self-Determination on the other. (pp. 19-20).

Mr. Russell proceeds to show the terrible havoc which the world is suffering through the engagements of these opposing forces, and in particular by the class war between capitalists and the working classes and by international conflicts. He rejects the suggestion that socialism will succeed in bringing about a world-state, but expresses the hope that the increasing size of the great empires and their tendency to rely on land rather than on sea defences may render war less frequent than it has been heretofore. But, until that stage is reached, the possibility of war will remain a frightful menace to humanity. "Material progress has increased men's power of injuring one another, and there has been no correlative moral progress. Until men realise that warfare, which was once a pleasant pastime, has now become race suicide; until they realise that the indulgence of hatred makes social life impossible with modern powers of destruction, there can be no hope for the world. It is moral progress that is needed; men must learn toleration and the avoidance of violence, or civilization must perish in universal degradation and misery." (pp. 80-81).

How are these dangers to be avoided? How is the march of science and human invention to be made productive of good rather than of evil? The answer to these questions forms the main thesis of the book:—

> If mechanism is to become a boon to mankind, private property, at least as regards land and all natural and legal monopolies, must be replaced by some form of public ownership and control; nationalism must give place to internationalism, both as regards sentiment and as regards certain governmental functions, notably

war, movements of population, and the distribution of raw materials; while the mechanistic outlook must give place to one which values mechanism for its extra-mechanical uses, but no longer worships it as a good in itself. (p. 265).

In a word Mr. Russell's panacea consists of socialism, internationalism, and the adoption of a humanistic attitude towards life. On the substitution of the mechanistic by the humanistic outlook he has some exceptionally interesting things to say —

The distinction between the mechanistic and the humanistic conceptions of excellence is the most fundamental of all distinctions between rival sets of ideals. The mechanistic conception regards the good as something outside the individual, as something which is realized through a society as a whole, whether voluntarily co-operating or not. The humanistic conception, on the other hand, regards the good as s mething existing in the lives of individuals, and conceives social co-operation as only valuable in so far as it ministers to the welfare of the several citizens. The mechanistic conception is not interested in the individual as such, but only in the part that he can play as a cog in the machinery. On the other hand the humanistic conception regards a child as a gardener regards a young tree, *i.e.*, as something with a certain intrinsic nature, which will develop into an admirable form given proper soil and light and air. The extreme of the mechanistic view is Calvinism; the extreme of the humanistic view is Taoism. (p. 266).

It is interesting to learn that Mr. Russell agrees with the view that Calvinism is answerable for the characteristic outlook of the industrial age, but it is a pity that he does not pursue the matter further and inquire into the opinions of the other branches of Christianity which share his disapproval of Calvinist doctrines and of Calvinist ethics. Indeed, no feature of this remarkable book is so striking as the author's ignorance of the Catholic outlook on social questions. He is not without respect for certain Catholic virtues: for instance he says that "it is generally recognised that Catholics cannot be forced to obey laws which are contrary to their conscience" (p. 196), and that "Roman Catholics have power through their known inflexibility" (p. 224); but his general attitude is that Christianity is a mere superstition in which no serious-minded person can possibly believe. "In France, Germany and Russia Christianity is now officially abandoned; in England, active Christianity is practically confined to clergymen and maiden ladies; and even in America religion is far less virulent than it was thirty years ago." (p. 135). This passage is typical of many others on the same subject, and comes oddly from the pen of a writer who possesses such a clear vision and such a keen desire to be fair to points of view which he does not share.

On the question of internationalism Mr. Russell fully admits the danger of political sovereignty unrestrained by any outside check. He sees quite clearly that the principle that the State is

supreme and not amenable to any other authority leads not only to war with other States, but also in many cases to gross injustice to its own citizens. He urges, therefore, the necessity of conceding a large share of power to autonomous groups inside the State, which will presumably be the best judges and guardians of their own interests. "Do we wish to see an increase or a diminution in the power of groups to thwart the majority? I have no doubt whatever that, in the best system, groups will have a great deal of control over all matters that primarily concern themselves. The modern State is so large and impersonal that its decisions as to any particular group are likely to be harsh and ignorant unless the group in question is able to make its opinion effectively felt. For these reasons and for many others, autonomy for groups as regards their own affairs is of great importance." (pp. 224-5).

This is strange language coming from a socialist, it smacks rather of the modern French Catholic writers on social affairs. Indeed, the insistence on the need of voluntary organization independent of the State is one of the distinguishing marks of the Catholic social school. But Mr. Russell goes further and insists that, in order that autonomous associations may be as powerful as possible, they should not be confined by national boundaries, but should be organised quite independently of State frontiers. "An organisation can only give expression to those passions which the bulk of its members have in common; therefore a geographical organisation such as the State will mainly embody a man's geographical passions, of which the chief are hatred of foreigners and love of conquest. For this reason, if for no other, it is desirable that as much power as possible should belong to non-geographical organisations, which have at least a chance of embodying less ignoble passions" (p. 231). But the principal non-geographical organisation in the world at the present time is the Church, and it should therefore, if Mr. Russell's contention be correct, be given the greatest measure of power. The scholastic teaching regarding the relations between Church and State appears to us to be not far removed from Mr. Russell's own ideals; the mediaeval Church was a non-geographical organisation which at the same time provided an international tribunal to restrain the unregulated bloodlust of nations against each other and operated as a check on the tyranny of rulers over their own subjects.

We have expressed our admiration of Mr. Russell's book and our disagreement with certain parts of it; but the main impression left on us after reading it is neither admiration nor disagreement, but regret—regret that a man with such a powerful mind and such

a genuine spirit of humanity should find himself working alone, divorced from tradition and denied the co-operation of fellow-workers in the same field. This, to our mind, is the great tragedy of modern scholarship. Mr. Russell describes how the scientific industrial age is distinguished from the ages that have gone before it; how thousands of workers may be engaged for years in building a great railway or a great bridge, not to produce anything of any use to themselves, but to produce something that makes travel and communication easier and cheaper for later generations who would otherwise have had to pursue their journeys on foot and in ferry boats. If this prevision, this envisagement of distant rather than of immediate ends, this co-operation between generations of workers is the characteristic of the age of science in industry, surely some similar phenomenon should mark the age of science in intellect.

It was the existence of such a spirit which rendered the middle ages the supreme period of intellectual advance. We are reminded in this connection of a fine passage from a remarkable book, noticed in the December issue of this Review, De Wulf's *Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages*:—

> The thirteenth century was possessed of a significant conception regarding truth. Truth is a great edifice to be gradually built up. This work is necessarily co-operative and over a long period of time; and therefore it must be entered into impersonally by each worker. The truth, and the knowledge which expresses it, is not considered as the personal property of him who finds it. On the contrary, it is a great common patrimony which passes from one generation to the next, ever increased by continuous and successive contributors.

It was owing to this spirit of co-operation, this perfect harmony between the labours of different generations, this anxiety to take short steps in the right direction rather than long jumps in any direction, that enabled the mediaeval philosophers to attain to a synthesis which embraced the whole of man's activities. Progress was possible because each generation of thinkers was content to build on the structure of its predecessors, and thus unnecessary repetition and the exploration of the same ground more than once was avoided. In other words, the Scholastics constructed great railways and bridges to make easy the journeys of subsequent travellers. The Reformation cut these railways and broke these bridges, and now every pilgrim to the shrine of truth, even though he be as accomplished and brilliant as Mr. Russell, is once more condemned to cross the plains on foot and the rivers in ferries.

G. O'BRIEN.

Education

SAINT FRANCOIS DE SALES, DIRECTEUR D'AMES. L'éducation de la volonté. Par Francis Vincent. Paris: Beauchesne. 1924. Pp. 584. 15 francs.

THE secondary title of this important and attractive survey of the "Salesian methods" expresses its policy and scope. M. l'Abbé Vincent, whose book is a rare combination of erudition and of spirituality at once definite and large-minded, has written here for all educators that take their duties in the higher way, a work of permanent value. The benign policy of Saint Francis de Sales is set forth in full detail, so as to contrast it with the severity of much of the "hardening" school of the sixteenth century, and with the rigorism which essayed to enter French education with Port Royal and those who shared the tendencies of Port Royal. The saint was a true humanist, one who believed in the culture of the whole human being: the emotions have their place in education, for man is not pure intellect; the body is not to be merely tolerated or depressed, but is to receive a positive education.

The place of personal direction in the educative process, the place of auto-education, individualism and social education, liberty and authority, all enter into this sustained discussion. The author is not only versed in the educational views of writers from Vives to the collaborators on the Ratio Studiorum; he also exposes recent attempts of Payot, William James, and their admirers, to create a new naturalism in education; he seizes, with a certain spice of humour, numerous occasions of showing how they steal the spiritual elements of the Christian system, strip them of their traditional nomenclature, and present them under new names, as if invented in the school of "independent morals." An excellent example of this skilful but essentially dishonest process is given by M. l'Abbé Vincent when he compares fully the doctrine of S. Francis de Sales on the "spiritual bouquet" with that of M. Jules Payot on the "moral formula." (pp. 343-345).

Placed here in the great century of French thought and literature, when the balance of reason and emotion, of liberty and authority, was sanely established and effectively applied to human action, Saint Francis de Sales is exhibited in a way that enables a careful reader to set out from his text, a sound policy in education. The doctrine conveyed is as applicable in the immature stages of moral development as it is in adult years. To say that it is the doctrine of classical humanism is its fullest commendation. It gives its full and due place to the collective *Opus Dei*, but passes forward to the

individual *Opus Animarum*. By a special gift of spiritual temperament, Saint Francis de Sales allied in his writings much that was Benedictine and Franciscan in its outlook, with a goodly measure of what was distinctively Ignatian. The active psychology he proposes is of the kind that at once fortifies the strong and encourages the weak: all kinds meet in the life of the Church, no less than in the classroom.

A distinctive attribute of this elaborate study is that it is eminently readable, while it always gives substantial work to the thinker. M. Vincent has to no small degree succeeded in forming a style approaching in its serenity and good humour that of his illustrious subject; and St. Francis de Sales deservedly ranks among the great writers of French prose. T. C.

GEOGRAPHY TEACHING. Reprints from the proceedings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. London. 1923. 24 pp. 1*s*.

A SEARCH in this collection of views and plans reveals (p. 333 of the reprint paging) that Geography can in England be a main subject of a secondary course, taking six hours of class time each week. The framers of such a programme should be sent to France or to Germany, to Switzerland or to Belgium, to learn the elements of what they have rashly undertaken. With this foolish lead from the English Board of Education, it is no wonder that the British Association goes one better, and proposes plans that would make Geography a universal marauder, plundering every known branch of science, literature, and art, and calling on its students to be pretentious specialists in general knowledge. It is no surprise to find that the British Association for the Advancement of Science issues this Reprint, and many others on like subjects, in a type and in a page setting that offend palpably against the most elementary laws of the hygiene of sight.

T. C.

Fiction

MISS RUDD AND SOME LOVERS. By Eimar O'Duffy. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1923. 5s. net.

IN this book we are given a study of boarding-house characters rather than a love-story as the title would indicate. Mr. O'Duffy selects his types from a *stratum* not socially distinguished; his *dramatis personae* do not arouse the admiration or inspire the interest of the reader to any considerable extent, and yet one feels that he has observed closely and recorded faithfully. Mrs. Buck, the land-

lady who presides over the somewhat sordid establishment which he describes, is well-drawn, within limitations, and is not unreminiscent of Dickens' types. It would not be true to say that in her Mr. O'Duffy has depicted a character which can compare with the famous creations of the great Victorian novelist; but Mrs. Buck is, nonetheless, a thoroughly good piece of work. Her moralisings are the most entertaining reading in the book, and her citations from the wise saws and modern instances of her deceased husband are productive of much quiet amusement.

Mr. O'Duffy has a disconcerting trick of assigning to some of his purely fictitious characters attributes or traits which his Irish, or at any rate his Dublin, readers will have no difficulty in recognising as the distinguishing marks of some more or less public characters. An action for libel or slander could not, however, be successfully sustained against him as he can always indicate quite truthfully numerous points of dissimilarity. "X" is, for instance, clean-shaven and married, and could not, therefore, by any means be the person alluded to as "Y" in Mr. O'Duffy's pages, even if "Y" is made to do and say things typical of "X" as we know him. It cannot be denied that the interest of the Dubliner is stimulated by this practice of Mr. O'Duffy's, and the latter would, no doubt, be within his rights in claiming that many other authors do likewise, only we do not happen to be acquainted with the persons whom they have so utilised.

Miss Rudd, the heroine—if she may so be styled—is not a particularly engaging lady. Her sense of humour is feeble, and leads her to play a practical joke which provides the material out of which the rather thin story is spun. We get glimpses of life in public offices where men and women work together, and if the author is, by any chance, drawing on actual personal experience he cannot be congratulated on it. Pettiness is, of course, often to be found among clerks of both sexes; of this pettiness, and of pettiness in petticoats in particular, Mr. O'Duffy gives us plenty.

Towards the close of the book Miss Rudd (who is, outside office hours, a novelist after the fashion of the late Charles Garvice) becomes involved in an attempt to rescue the victim of her idea of humour, and of her personal and financial charms as well, from imprisonment by the British authorities—the period is the Black-and Tan Curfew era—and is herself placed in jail. The Truce of July, 1921, ends her difficulties on this head; and, having successfully "choked-off" her various suitors, she quits Ireland to continue her literary career.

Mr. O'Duffy has done much better work before now, and should

be capable of doing much better in the future. *Miss Rudd* can rank only as a pot-boiler at best. W. D.

LA BELLE QUE VOILA . . . . By Louis Hémon. Paris: Grasset. 1923. 7fr. 50.

La Belle que voilà ! . . . . is a slight story which gives its title to a collection of *nouvelles* by the now famous author of *Maria Chapdelaine*. They are nearly all studies of London life made, the editor tells us, in the years 1904 to 1911 which Louis Hémon spent in England. He delighted in seizing and rendering the atmosphere of new places. Here we get a strangely vivid sensation of the greyer and more sordid aspects of London, and of "all the crushing oppression of a city which is grim and gloomy to the poor." The monotonous rows of houses, the uninviting shops, the cheap restaurants and flamboyant public-houses, the unceasing movement, the din and clatter of tramway-bells, the mud and fog, the queer alien population are all described. Here is the neighbourhood of the old Jew shoemaker:

Outside, at the end of the dark passage, were Brick Lane and the corner of Thrasol St. The first shop on the left was Rappoport, the tailor's; then came Agelowitz, the pork-butcher; Pomerantz, hair-dresser and perfumer; and Sunasky, whose window displayed praying shawls and violent pamphlets in Hebrew. A little farther on, stretched Dean and Flower St. with its two long rows of dirty houses, where the innumerable submerged of the East End found a refuge for four-pence a night; those who had not succeeded in putting that much together wandered from street to street waiting for the dawn, dragging from Whitechapel to Hoxton their bruised feet, dreaming vaguely of an Eden where there would be a big fire and a mattress to lie on."

The people are not represented as vicious or criminal—which is probably more real than the "realistic" novel—but only as degenerate, resourceless, absorbed by the ever present question of daily food; not entirely soulless, for they have a certain rough love and pity. All the coarse vulgarity, the flaunting feathers, the sham jewellery, the crowded, flaring publichouses, the boisterous bank holiday crowds, become intensely pathetic under the transmuting power of sympathetic observation.

The great Moloch, London, has other more willing victims. With Miss Winthrop-Smith the typist we go into the crowded busy city and the dull ugliness of Bishopsgate St.:

"The drizzling rain, the sticky mud on the footpaths, the melancholy gas-lamps watching like sentinels over the dark buildings, the tired trot of the horses on the wet asphalt, and the people coming out by all the doors, with hollow eyes and drawn features, hurrying along, cowering under the rain, with an involuntary expression of fatigue and deliverance on their faces."

That is what she sees one evening when, in the glamour of the intense activity of her great firm, she has posted her letter refusing the nurseryman's offer of marriage; and she thinks with a pang of the might-have-been: of the trim gardens and greenhouses, and the cosy fire behind the closed shutters, and the patter of the soft country rain.

Worst of all is the fate of the unsuccessful alien, like the poor little Pacific-islander Taoufa—are there really such uncompromising missionaries in Chinatown as the excellent but downright Father Flanagan?—or the old Russian Jew shoemaker, the revolutionary dreams of whose youth have vanished, and who is hard put to it to keep the life in himself and his sick daughter, with customers "poor themselves, economical and hard on others, who demanded for very little money a lot of leather and hard work, ready without fail by next day, the Sabbath."

That is the strong side of the book: the power of interpreting strange scenes, and sympathy with all forms of human sufferings. What a paradise of peace, purity, wholesome living, the Canadian backwoods must have seemed to Louis Hémon after the East End of London! M. R.

COLIN-MAILLARD. By Louis Hémon. Paris: Grasset. 1924. 7fr. 50.

Louis Hemon had a strange power of entering into the spirit of foreign places, and of reproducing in his readers his own keen impressions and sensations. The collection of stories called *Là Belle que voilà* made one feel and see sordid but profoundly human aspects of East London. So does *Colin-Maillard*,—the title is the French equivalent of Blind Man's Buff. It has the same merits as the other book, with the difference that the scenes are strung on the person and adventures of Mike O'Brady. Indeed it seems as if, in his empty and aimless evenings, Mike wanders here and there because Louis Hémon had been struck by certain phases of London life: its violent contrasts; the sufferings of its queer cosmopolitan underworld, especially of "Jewry and Erin" in London; the indifference or futile good-will of the better-off.

The most healthy and inspiring place is the dock warehouse where Mike works: it is swept comparatively fresh and clean by the salt breath of the sea coming up the Thames. When Mike is not at work, his uncomfortable lodgings have no attraction. His aimless feet take him frequently to a bar, where the tired barmaid comes vaguely to symbolise for him all hardship and injustice. Or he goes to the West End where the rich obscurely anger and

the Park orators bore him. In a newspaper shop he strikes up an odd, shortlived acquaintance with a Jewish socialist, one of the living figures in the book. He strolls into public libraries, welcome refuge for the cold and shelterless, who turn over unintelligible papers; into a museum where an up-to-date person preaches "science" versus the Bible; into the Christian Institute of Limehouse where he tolerates the well-meaning but dreary Wilkins and Boulter for the sake of a word or glance from Miss Audrey Gordon-Ingram. Of all the London sights, what seems, after the popular exponents of socialism, most to fascinate the author is its religious emotionalism: revival meetings, street processions, Salvation Army gatherings.

We cannot think that Mike O'Brady is a happy creation. Typically Irish he certainly is not: he is rather our old friend the stage Irishman, only with a queer moral make-up substituted for caubeen, pipe and coat-tails.

But is he even psychologically possible? He listens to street orators and to old Hydleman's disquisitions on socialism with a numb, uneasy sense of some vague monstrous wrong too big for his brain; but then he goes to a Christian Institute and gets very articulately "saved"—he an Irish Catholic fresh from Dublin as the author reminds us. He ends by murdering, in a fit of lucid despairing drunkenness, the proprietor of the bar who orders about the barmaid and typifies property. It would hardly be worth while analysing his eccentricities, but for the possibility of his being taken abroad as a serious character-study. M. R.

History

THE BOLSHEVIK PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANITY. By Francis McCullagh. London: Murray. 1924. 18s.

The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity has supplied a long felt want in the list of publications on Bolshevism. The contradictory scraps of news that had passed the Bolshevik barrier of censorship regarding the religious situation in Russia had partly succeeded in deceiving the outer world as to the true relations between Christianity and Belshevism. Of the American Senators and Divines who paid a flying visit to Russia during the past few years, we know of only one who saw more than the Communist officials desired to be seen, and the general effect of their fragmentary reports was only to increase the confusion of ideas already prevalent regarding the religious as well as the political and economic chaos. Heretofore, the news returned regarding the religious turmoil was quite incomplete and generally lacked sufficient evidence for general

acceptance. It remained for Mr. McCullagh to present the case of Christianity in Russia in clear and unmistakable terms, supported by Bolshevik declarations that leave no doubt as to the Communist attitude. In the midst of the extraordinary and rapidly occurring crises which might have attracted the attention of a journalist, it will stand as a credit to the judicious discernment of the author that he focused his attention upon the struggle of religion. In addition to his well deserved reputation as a journalist with a high sense of duty to the reading public, Mr. McCullagh must henceforth be classed as an eminent apologist of Christianity.

The work is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with the attack upon the Russian Church, the trials of the Catholic Church in Russia, and the present position of Christian Churches in Russia. Nine appendices have been added which not only guarantee the genuineness of documentary evidence, but throw considerable light upon the detailed proceedings as set forth in the body of the work. The chronicle of injustice towards the Orthodox Church seems to reveal an analogy between the Bolshevik attitude towards Capitalism and its dealing with Christianity in general. Those who experienced the violent workings of the first attempt at strict Communistic government must necessarily condemn it as unjust in the extreme and disastrous beyond description. The most sanguine as well as the most sanguinary of Bolsheviks has come to recognise the predominance of madness over method in their initial endeavours; but the system of compromise which they have adopted has by no means purified their method of its mania. The Bolshevik method of engrafting Communism upon firmly established institutions, in the hope of eventually stifling the parent plant, is proving as unsuccessful in the political field as it was futile in experiment with the Russian Orthodox Church. For the time being, no doubt, the graft has taken hold, but it gives no promise of fruithful yield while the parent plant, though noticeably weakened by the operation, is still flourishing and bearing fruit.

If by their fruits we are to know them, it is a matter of considerable curiosity to conjecture what manner of crop will be developed from such an anomalous growth as a Bolshevik Church, or an antichristian Christianity. The compromise with Christianity, like the compromise with Capitalism, into which Bolshevism has been coerced by the dire necessity of preserving its own existence, means no change of original attitude; for the ultimate purpose of Bolshevism is the utter destruction of both Capitalism and Christianity. The reader of *The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity* is strongly impressed with the idea that, if religion could in any

way be destroyed among a Christian people, Bolshevism would surely have accomplished the destruction. Even Bolshevism recognised the futility of trying to obliterate the spiritual element, and after wasting its fury in rapine and murder finally consented to tolerate the Orthodox Church by endeavouring to absorb it as part of its own nefarious system. Unfortunately for the Orthodox Church there were only too many of its clergy who were ready to embrace the compromise as an opportunity of personal aggrandizement. But little evidence is given as to the former character of these proselytes to Bolshevism, and there is not a shred of evidence in any of their writings or declarations to convince one that they abandoned their former connections with any serious intent or belief other than that of preferment and selfish ambition.

The overwhelming evidence of the wholesale spoliation of churches in Russia is everywhere apparent to a stranger travelling within Russian borders. This is but one of the many mysterious and hitherto falsely reported phases of the Bolshevik attack that the present volume has set clearly before its readers. The Red Church and the Red Congress, subjects which the uninitiated even in Moscow could not understand with much satisfaction because of the numerous contradictory reports of frequent appearance in the Communist Church and Civil Bulletins, are outlined and explained in the author's clear and absorbing style.

The story of the persecution of the Catholic Church centres chiefly about the Cieplak Trial. The first account of this trial was a coup-de-théâtre in the journalistic world, and there were none more surprised at its appearance than the Bolshevik officials. In spite of all the precautions they had taken to prevent the details of this trial from spreading abroad, an accurate account of the entire fiasco was before the world almost before it had terminated, and the author of this first issue has now presented us with a more developed and searching account of what transpired in the court and of what took place in the prison-house shortly after. When violence was resorted to against Catholicity, the Bolshevik government became alarmed at the series of protests received from abroad, and the next step, as in the case of the Orthodox movement, was compromise. This they hoped to bring about through the Director of the Vatican Relief; but their ill-directed diplomacy met with abrupt denial.

Had the Director of the Vatican Relief even attempted to open a road for negotiations with Rome, as the Communists desired, he would undoubtedly have been given a free field for the full exercise of Catholic liberty in Russia. But the Director was himself the founder of a school of diplomacy, which was built upon very

different principles from any to be found in the Bolshevik code, and, much to their surprise, their flattering overtures were refused. Taxation has been substituted for violence, seconded by rigid and unjust legislation regarding religious instruction to children. The entire educational system of the country has been taken over and changed to accord with Bolshevik teaching, in the hope of educating the coming generations in the radical sense of the word, of leading them out and away from what their ancestors knew and practised. Here as elsewhere, however, the Bolsheviks have overloaded the barrow and are making but slow and staggering progress. They have been forced to employ the teachers of the old régime, who in spite of the regulations are still teaching the matter of the old curricula and according to pristine schedule. Russia was not the first country to forbid the teaching of religion to the children; but the devotion of Christian mothers has carried the faith through more than one persecution, and the Christian mothers of Russia are more numerous and more religiously inclined than general report would have one to believe. To one who has spent a year among the Russian people and witnessed the way in which their churches were thronged with worshippers, even during the calamitous times of religious persecution, it is difficult to believe that they will ever permit their devotion to be legislated, taxed, or violently crushed out of existence. The question is frequently asked, what will be the salvage from the wreck of Orthodoxy? The question is premature. Close to one of the quays in the city of Petrograd there is the hull of a large ship, scuttled and capsized at its mooring in 1917 and still riding up-side-down. The name of this ship is "The Will of the People." Orthodoxy is not quite in that condition. The Bolshevik monsoon has driven it out of course and ruined its identity as a state institution. It has been broken and rent from within and without; but it is still afloat and under direction, and one can not talk of its salvage unless the returning whirlwind should complete its ruin before it has reached a haven of repair.

The appearance of this volume on the Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity should suffice to allay whatever doubt may still exist as to the author's genuine knowledge and authentic treatment of Bolshevism. His attitude is evident, and he has spared no pains in placing before the world a detailed account of the most drastic persecution the Christian Church has experienced since the days of early Christianity. We think it no exaggeration to say that during the post-revolutionary period Mr. McCullagh was the best informed stranger in Russia respecting Bolshevik activities,

enjoying, as he did, a thorough knowledge of the customs and language of the people and the rare privilege, it would seem, of a sesame to the most clandestine of Bolshevik gatherings. No doubt it was to this singular entrée, created by his own ingenious method rather than granted as a favour by the Bolsheviks, that we owe the only complete and authentic account of the travesty upon justice that terminated in the death of Mgr. Butkiewicz and the imprisonment of Archbishop Cieplak with twenty-one of his priests. This particular account is of vast importance for the annals of Christianity, yet it is only one of many important incidents which the world had a right to know, but which, in all probability, would otherwise never have been revealed in the full light of truth and of honest record.

Absorbingly interesting, clear and exact, and with the charm of literary taste and style, *The Bolshevik Persecution of Christianity* is an invaluable record and a worthy addition to Christian literature. L. J. GALLAGHER.

RELIGION SINCE THE REFORMATION: EIGHT LECTURES. By Leighton Pullan, D.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Milford. 1923. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS volume has certainly one merit: no effort is made to conceal the religious opinions of the author; his Anglicanism is in evidence throughout, and patently colours all his strictly religious judgments. This Anglicanism strives to steer an even keel between what it claims are the extremes of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. As between these "extremes" the author's antipathies are perhaps more pronounced against the theoretical foundations of Protestantism, though he has also harsh things to say of "Ultramontanism." But this unswerving loyalty to his own standpoint does not prevent him from at times paying generous tribute wherever he thinks that good work has been done for religion or morality. The principal interest of the book, however, lies not so much in the historical presentation as in the light incidentally thrown on the tenets, affiliations, hopes and aspirations of this particular form of Anglicanism. The sympathetic treatment of the Eastern Churches is especially instructive in this regard.

In view of the prefatory statement that "these lectures make no pretence of being a history of the Church during the last four centuries . . . . but are only a few studies and sketches, which I hoped might be useful in present circumstances to the members of the University," it would not be quite fair to be too insistent on the unsatisfactory character of the work as a contribution to

the history of Christianity. But we must confess that the limitations of space mentioned in the preface as an excuse are not the only limitations that are in evidence. Within the same limits something much more serious might easily have been accomplished.

What in the main we are presented with is a succession of gossipy sketches of individuals, whose names "ought not to perish." We thus get a considerable number of personal pictures the value of which, artistic or otherwise, is doubtful. The pressure of space complained of might have spared us many trivialities; such, for instance, as the information that the occasion of Grabe's death was "a bruise near the liver caused by his last journey to Oxford in a stage coach." We can more easily forgive the information that Cameron was "a typical Scot, independent, brave, disputatious, generous, with a preference for living outside Scotland."

The reader will find much in the general tone as well as in details, which challenges criticism. The statement that "Martin Luther and Ignatius Loyola did what they did, and we are what we are, because Leo X. had been in want of money," in its utter inadequacy is typical of much in these lectures. We are not entitled to expect anything like a satisfactory treatment of the Indulgence Controversy, but at least some indication might have been given that it is far from being as simple as the brief account given here would lead the ordinary reader to suspect. That this opponent of Ultramontanism should accept Pascal's philippic against the Jesuits at its full face value need cause no surprise. "They (the *Provincial Letters*) strike and they flash. Simple words are joined in brief sentences, strong in their eloquence, carrying conviction by their rigid sequence of argument." I quote these words because they seem to make open confession of a weakness that the professed historian so often shares with the ordinary reader of literature: eloquence and forcefulness of style are allowed to be substituted for proof and to dispense from the necessity of investigation.

J. M. O'S.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHICAGO, 1673–1871. By Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. Chicago: Loyola University Press. pp. 236.

THIS "historical sketch" is really a most valuable contribution to the history of the Catholic Church in Chicago. It bears the imprint of the Loyola University Press, and is appropriately dedicated to Archbishop (now Cardinal) Mundelein. In type, illustrations, facsimiles, etc., the work leaves nothing to be desired.

In a short introduction the author explains the *raison d'être* of the work, and gives his reasons for limiting the sketch to the year 1871, when the terrible catastrophe occurred, one of the most disastrous of its kind, and yet one that in reality accelerated the victorious advance of the City of the Lakes.

Within the compass of 236 pages are compressed all the essential facts of Chicago Catholic history from 1673 to 1871. First hand sources are availed of as far as is possible, and the archdiocesan archives of Saint Louis, as well as the archives of Saint Louis University, and those at Notre Dame University, are freely drawn on.

It will come as a surprise, even to well-informed readers, to learn that as late as the year 1834 there was but one solitary priest, Father St. Cyr, in the city of Chicago, with its then population of 2,400. What gave rise to Chicago as a centre of population was the establishment there, in 1803, of Fort Dearborn by an Irishman, Captain John Whistler, U.S.A. Burnt to the ground by the Indians in the massacre of 1812, the Fort was rebuilt in 1816, and a new settlement sprang up. Thus Chicago was really founded by a native born Irishman, Captain John Whistler.

Save for sporadic visits by missionaries, Chicago, which was incorporated as a town in June, 1833, did not get its first resident pastor till May 1, 1833, when Bishop Rosati of St. Louis appointed Father John May Irenaeus St. Cyr. This first priest laboured zealously till 1836, when he was given an assistant, Rev. M. Pchaeffer, but he was recalled to St. Louis in 1837.

On September 20, 1843, Chicago was erected as a diocese, to which was appointed Right Rev. William J. Quarter, an Irishman, as first Bishop, who dedicated St. Mary's Cathedral in October, 1845. The number of Catholics at this date in Chicago was reckoned as 1,300, one tenth of the population of the city.

When the great fire proved the birth of a new Chicago, in 1871—the then Bishop being the son of Matthew Foley of Enniscorthy, who emigrated to Baltimore in 1819—the city reckoned 24 parishes, with 55 priests, and a Catholic population of close on 100,000; it now (1923) counts 227 parishes, with 520 priests, and over a million communicants. Truly does Father Garraghan add:—"Few pages in the history of the Catholic Church in any country furnish a more amazing illustration of the growth of the proverbial mustard-seed to a tree of vast and over-shadowing proportions."

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Literary Criticism

JUGEMENTS. By Henri Massis. Vol. I.: Renan, France, Barrès. Vol. II.: André Gide, Romain Rolland, Georges Duhamel, Julien Benda, Les Chapelles Littéraires. Paris: Plon. 1923-1924. 7fr.50 each.

THESE two volumes of very analytical criticism should help to make more widely known a Catholic author whose reputation hitherto has scarcely penetrated across the seas. And yet Henri Massis is one of the ablest and most clear-sighted of the younger critics in France to-day, a critic whose judgments—sometimes, it is true, a little summary and absolute—are important enough to be vigorously controverted by men of opposing views. Some of us will remember the impression made in the years just before the war by a volume signed by the unknown name of Agathon, *Les Jeunes Gens d'aujourd'hui*, describing the new spirit, both religious and patriotic, that distinguished, so it was said, the younger generation and the reaction that had set in against the pessimism and scepticism that prevailed after 1870. To-day a revised edition of the book has been published bearing the name of M. Massis.

It is also to M. Massis that we owe that vivid little sketch relating the conversion of Ernest Psichari, Renan's brilliant grandson and the author of *Le Voyage du Centurion*. As the writer himself tells us, he and Psichari made their pilgrimage towards faith for a time side by side, both influenced not a little by Jacques Maritain. "We asked of life the same urgent and decisive question, and we refused to believe that our destinies held no meaning. We both craved an absolute moral law." (p. 25) Both, happily, made their peace with the Church, but whereas Psichari, filled with an ardent aspiration for Dominican service, was destined to fall in battle like his friend Péguy, quite early in the war, Massis has lived to devote his pen to elaborating the Catholic principles that should underlie art and literature. Several books inspired by war conditions, *Le Sacrifice*, *Romain Rolland contre la France* and *Luther Prophète du Germanisme*, are likely to prove of ephemeral interest. To-day, however, the writers of France are slowly emerging into a more normal atmosphere, and the two volumes before us, containing appreciations of some dozen authors. are intended to define Henri Massis' attitude towards the tendencies of French literature since the Armistice.

For our author is emphatically of those who regard the war as a great literary landmark, and who believe that the spiritual side of life will be far more prominent in literature than heretofore.

" This generation of writers," he declares (p. 60), " has re-discovered the spiritual realities and has learnt that the study of what is true cannot be limited to mere externalities. What wonder, then, that trained and fashioned by the hardships of war, they aspire to more *human* literature and introduce us in some measure to the mysteries of our own existence." The young post-war novelists, he says, may be defined as " realists of the soul ; " they no longer confine themselves to depicting matrimonial entanglements, but are eager to study life in all its aspects and so to give expression to the deep mental unrest, at once intellectual and spiritual, which has been so intensified by the war and which French writers usually refer to as *inquiétude religieuse*. And it is just here that M. Massis finds himself in acute antagonism to so many of his contemporaries whose writings he analyses. For he is above all a convinced and fervent Catholic, judging all things from a Christian standpoint.

Where art and literature are concerned, his attitude, we take it, has been carefully worked out from the *Art et Scholastique* of his friend Maritain, a book that deserves an article to itself.[1] Believing himself to possess one might almost say an infallible criterion of literary judgment, he condemns—ruthlessly at times—all who fall beneath his standard. Claudel, Péguy, Psichari and their friends are indeed the only contemporaries with whom he feels himself in whole-hearted sympathy. Naturally he detests irreligion in all its manifestations, but it is curious to note that he detests Protestantism even more, probably because of its German origin. Hence his indignation in treating of Roger Martin du Gard's *Les Thibault*, a much-discussed novel that threatens to equal in length *Jean-Christophe*, in which the Catholic and the Protestant ideal are placed in opposition, to the detriment of the former. Hence too his failure to see anything in Romain Rolland save " disorder," " unreason," " fundamental futility," " anarchism " and so forth. One feels that he allows personal prejudice to warp his judgment when he describes Rolland's spiritual attitude as the " dilettantism of faith," for surely few authors have held to unpopular views with greater tenacity and conviction. But M. Massis has no use for " sincerity " when it is based on what he believes to be false principles. The first duty of the artist, he asserts, is to be " vrai," and there is no truth outside the Catholic Church. One feels that whole regiments of English authors would stand condemned by his distinction between sincerity and truth—he mentions Blake and Browning with aversion—and it is charac-

[1] Translated by the Rev. J. O'Connor, S.T.P., under the title *Philosophy of Art*. (St. Dominic's Press, Ditchling, Sussex).

teristic that the only English living author he quotes with approval is G. K. Chesterton.

Where M. Massis renders really valuable critical service, in spite of some undue bitterness, is in his long study of André Gide, the disciple of Nietzsche, the friend of Oscar Wilde, the biographer and interpreter of Dostoievski, a cool and cynical critic both of life and letters. The two men have been for years in opposite camps; for M. Gide, all through his literary career, has preached the essential antagonism of art and morality, whereas it is the aim of M. Massis to show us how they should work hand in hand. Undoubtedly Gide has exercised a very potent influence on some of the younger writers of his day, and exercised it knowingly and deliberately; for, as Massis points out, he is not only an artist and a writer of great charm and delicate irony, but in a sense also an apostle and reformer with a doctrine to preach. Yet while posing as a teacher he has persistently eluded all responsibility for the effects of his teaching. Hence the charge of immoralism that M. Massis brings against him. Moreover, like Blake, whom he hails as a master, Gide is an ardent student of demonology; he delights in the obscure problems offered by human perversity; he revels in "intellectual temptations," in everything, in short, that brings trouble and unrest to the human soul. And in this sense M. Massis justifiably applies to him the word demoniac, which he himself applies in a laudatory sense to Dostoievski. For M. Massis is able to show conclusively that nothing real lies behind Gide's critical attitude and that he has nothing constructive to offer to his disciples. Indeed it is the slow realisation of this fact among his earlier admirers that has caused the marked decay in his influence during the last few years.

M. Massis traces the influence of André Gide and also of Proust in the rather remarkable series of novels published of late dealing with the inchoate longings of adolescent youth—"le romantisme de l'adolescence," he calls it. Needless to say all these youthful heroes are *incompris*, all are in revolt against their surroundings, and all are absorbed in themselves and each other. No doubt the sedentary life of French schools, the intellectual pressure and the comparative absence of sport, all tend to a morbid precocity of sensibility which has now found its way into print. Apart from *Les Thibault*, already mentioned, which M. Massis regards as one of the worst of its class, a very talented example of the type is M. de Lacretelle's *Silbermann*, describing the sufferings of a precocious Jewish boy in a Paris lycée. But we agree with our author when he sees an unwholesome element in all these self-

conscious effusions, and in the revolt against discipline which they advocate with the liberty of the youthful ego to develop himself on his own lines ; and though the fashion may indicate a justifiable revulsion against the effects of French educational methods—Maurice Barrès described them for us incomparably in *Les Déracinés* —it is also a manifestation of the sentimental remanticism in which M. Massis sees such peril both to life and letters.

On the whole we enjoy reading these essays more when their author is at least in partial sympathy with his subject rather than when he is in denunciatory mood. Fortunately at times he allows himself to be a man of letters, with a keen appreciation of good writing and not merely a censor of " décevantes doctrines." His study of Georges Duhamel, critical indeed, but full of appreciation of the very individual talent of a younger confrère, is to us one of the most attractive in the volume. Duhamel, it will be remembered, a surgeon by profession, made his reputation by two volumes of poignant war stories, *La Vie des Martyrs* and *Civilisation*. The almost pitiless power displayed in them of analysing abnormal mental states re-appears in his recent novel *Confession de Minuit*, the self-revelations of an unemployed clerk almost on the verge of insanity. With a patient skill that recalls Dostoievski combined with the professional knowledge of a medical man, he gives us in this depressing novel an amazing picture of the sordid temptations, the petty perversity, the absurd imaginings of a man wholly absorbed in his own emotions. It is not surprising that a writer with so intimate an acquaintance with the miserable side of human nature, gained partly at least in war-hospitals, should himself suffer to excess from the mental unrest of his generation. In regard to all this M. Massis is able to show a responsive sympathy. Where he quarrels with Duhamel is that in certain other of his books, such as *La Possession du Monde*, he raises and discusses all the urgent problems that produce the " angoisse " of our day without being in a position to offer any solution. A warm admirer of Claudel he has looked at the Catholic solution of life—even longingly, so M. Massis assures us—and has felt compelled to pass it by. Since then he has turned to many sources, notably to William James, for a solution of the riddle of the universe ; but his own mind, M. Massis suggests, though perhaps mistakenly, is best represented by the closing words of the pitiable hero of the *Confession :* " The world escapes me. I am fighting amid shadows. Who can come to my aid ? "

The contents of the earlier volume, though full of literary interest, raise far fewer controversial points than the more recent

one, neither is the high Christian test so rigidly applied. Among the shorter and lighter studies none is more successful in its appreciative impartiality than that on Anatole France, the type, we are told, of "inhuman humanism," yet the greatest, perhaps, of the French writers of a generation now past. Renan's influence underlies so much that is still vital in French thought, that M. Massis' subtle analysis of his attitude towards life and faith, mainly as revealed by himself in those astounding "Cahiers de Jeunesse," dating from the seminary, is in no way out of date. One is left wondering, not that Renan left the Church, but that for so long he should have seriously contemplated Ordination. M. Massis shows conclusively how insidiously all his erudite literary labours were directed to the undermining of the dogmatic faith of his generation, in spite of his own sincere denunciations of a merely materialistic conception of the universe. Yet at the same time our critic does full justice to Renan's "incontestable literary genius" and to the strength of his personal ascendancy that was due both to his brilliant talents and to the engaging qualities of his baffling personality.

Of Barrès M. Massis writes with reservations, of course, but warmly and generously. "He saved French letters from the lowest decadence." He served all the great causes of his day and restored patriotism to a place of honour in the estimation of the young intellectuals of his time. Yet "steeped as he was in the relativity inherited from Renan and from Taine," M. Massis opines that his influence will fall away rapidly as the outlook of the new generation becomes modified.

That there is plenty of debatable matter in Henri Massis' two volumes has been made plain; they are books that no student of present literary tendencies in France can afford to ignore. If, in the future, there is to be a third volume of "Jugements," we shall hope to find included M. Massis' views on Marcel Proust.

V. M. C.

Philosophy

MODERN THEORIES OF THE UNCONSCIOUS. By W. L. Northridge, M.A., PH.D. London: Kegan Paul. 1924. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

THERE can be no doubt but that *cognitions* persist in some way or other, for we can reawaken them. But how do they persist? Is it merely as physical traces in nervous matter? Or merely as modifications of the Soul? And if they persist as modifications of the Soul, do they remain as formal cognitions, with a lesser degree of consciousness? Have they as it were sunk for the moment

beneath the surface of consciousness ? To the question of the nature of retention, Aristotle and the Schoolmen answered by the phrase which describes the memory as "thesaurus specierum." By *species* they understood modifications of the soul, habits and "passions" as it were, which reflected in a psychical manner external objects. They held that the organism co-operated in retention. It too was modified physically. Father Maher, interpreting the Scholastic view, admits unconscious activities in the soul, and latent unconscious modifications, but rejects the hypothesis of cognitions sinking beneath the surface of consciousness and remaining as formal cognitions with a lessened degree of consciousness :—

A cognition cannot, whilst retaining its reality as a cognition, sink into unconsciousness, just as a balloon or a diving-bell descends into denser or more profound strata. The true conception of retention is the old one, "*per modum habitus.*" An act of knowledge when it has passed out of thought is no longer an activity or energy ; as an act it has perished, but during its existence it wrought an effect on the soul in the shape of a habit or disposition, which on the recurrence of suitable conditions is capable of giving rise to a representation of the former state.[1]

Cognitions then persevere in the mind as latent modifications, and in addition there are activities of the mind which are unconscious, not merely the vital processes which go on without our being aware of them, but also intellectual activities such as those of the *intellectus agens*.

When we come to the modern theories of the unconscious, we find much confusion of thought and of language. Cognitions are conceived of as entities which persist as formal cognitions without however being endowed with consciousness. And we find such expressions as "unconscious ideas" used. Mr. Northridge is not slow in pointing out such errors. When we come to his own view of the "contents" of the unconscious, we find that he approaches somewhat to the view of the Schoolmen. Having distinguished between the "pre-conscious," which contains readily recallable memories, and the "unconscious," from which memories can only be evoked by a special technique, if at all, he writes : [2]—

The position at which we have arrived is that the unconscious, as distinct from the "preconscious," consists of : (1) the impressions or dispositions left behind by the emotional experiences of early days ; (2) tendencies whose meaning is not recognised or understood ; (3) tendencies that are themselves unconscious, but manifest their presence by "symptomatic" acts and peculiar behaviour.

The results of Mr. Northridge's work are meagre. His critical examination of the modern theories of the unconscious, from Leibnitz and Descartes to Freud and Jung, is useful, but on the whole

[1] *Psychology*, p.191. [2] p. 191.

tentative. He appreciates the value of the New Psychology, both as an organ of autognosis and psycho-therapy. "There can be no doubt that Freud's psychology has enabled us to understand and explain life to an extent that was not previously possible . . . . The greatest service that the modern study of the unconscious has rendered is that it has furnished us with a new point of view from which to study life and conduct." [1]

Mr. Northridge dissents, to some extent, from the Freudian theory of dreams and the Freudian theory of repression. He lays emphasis on the hypothetical character of these theories, and on the exaggerations of "compromise-formations" as explanations of facts. But he is genuinely in sympathy with sane Psychoanalysis as a therapeutic method.

The work on the whole is disappointing. Mr Northridge has not helped much towards a solution of the problem of the unconscious. At most he has cleared the ground somewhat, and invited further discussion. E. B. B.

LA PSYCHANALYSE. By Professor Ch. Blondel. Paris: Alcan. 1924. 9 fr.

PROFESSOR BLONDEL is a severe and bitter critic of Psychanalysis. His feelings have run away with him. He fails to differentiate between Freudianism and sane Psychanalysis. His national bias makes him think that the method creates "quelque gêne" for "un esprit français," forgetting Freud's tutelage at the hands of Charcot. He rails flippantly, asking if a psychanalyst is not "un paranoïaque mal tourné" (p. 203), and whether (apropos of a "number interpretation," helped by a wife's dream) Freud intended to erect into a "règle de méthode" (p. 242) the interpretation of a husband's dream by that of his wife.

M. Blondel reiterates criticism of Freud's sexual theories and exaggeration, joyously beating a dead dog. He parades Freud's most far-fetched and obviously absurd interpretations as typical of psychanalysis, but nowhere has he the generosity to pay tribute to his extraordinary perspicacity in tracing the symptoms and development of nerve-troubles. Freudian grossness alone seems to please M. Blondel.

We hold no brief for Freud or for his materialism. Freud's shortcomings and errors are patent to all. But in spite of what is wrong and disgusting about his work, he was a pioneer, a great observer, and a splendid worker on behalf of mentally afflicted folk. And when purified and perfected, his method is of unquestionable value

[1] p. 192.

M. Blondel objects that the method is subjective, " La méthode psychanalique est contraire à tout l'enseignement que j'ai reçu de mes maîtres . . . . *l'objectivité absolue* est la vertu essentielle de l'observation " (p. 143). But where is absolute objectivity in observation to be found ? In every method the subjective enters—not only in introspection but even in weighing and measuring ! Of course, the psychanalytic method is in part subjective. That cannot be helped. It is the only method available for the work it attempts—" interprétation des symptômes." Even questioning is suggestive. The answer is coloured and provoked by the question. But one must question, in order to find out about the symptoms. And, " la psychanalyse nous apprend que les symptômes ont un sens, mais encore elle est seule à nous donner le moyen de reconnaître ce qu'ils signifient " (p. 76).

M. Blondel is blind. He admits that Freud cures. And adds : " Ses succès thérapeutiques ne prouvent rien en faveur de sa doctrine psychologique." (p.134). This argument may appeal to " un esprit français," but I doubt it !

M. Blondel likens Freud to Gall, and by implication he classifies psychanalysts and phrenologists together. Craniology, he says (p. 247), proved to be " un roman ridicule." And psychanalysis he regards as work of paranoics ! Well, he may be the enlightened, the inspired one ! All, or nearly all, modern psychologists stand opposed to him. He may believe he has the " spark from heaven," while they all live in darkness. Curiously—such a symptom is usually found in paranoics ! Is he then a psychanalyst in his sub-conscious ? E. B. B.

Religion

SEMAINE D'ETHNOLOGIE RELIGIEUSE. Compte Rendu Analytique de la III^e Session tenue à Tilbourg (6-14 *Sept.*, 1922). Enghien (Belgium). 1923. 8° pp. 496. 26 francs belges.

THE Catholic international association for the study of Comparative Religion and the problems arising out of it, which is styled *Semaine D'Ethnologie Religieuse*, held its third session at Tilburg in Holland in September, 1922. The meeting was a brilliant success from every point of view, and produced a series of very valuable papers, read by the first Catholic authorities on the subject. These are given to the public in this volume, the appearance of which was delayed for a considerable time.

It would take far more space than is at my disposal to attempt an analysis of the really imposing mass of matter here offered to students. I can only say that no one who wants sober, scholarly

and up-to-date information on many of the most important questions of religion can afford to pass it by. The first part of the volume deals chiefly with questions of method and with new theories propounded in the nine years that had elapsed since the second conference, held in 1913. These papers will prove very useful to Catholic professors and students of theology as a corrective of the mania for risky and unsupported hypotheses which is not yet completely cured among non-Catholic authors in the field of Comparative Religion. The paper of Père Pinard de la Boullaye on the Philological Method and the two papers of M. Chanoine H. Bros on the Sociological School of Durkheim, Fauconnet and Mauss might be singled out if it were not invidious to select among so many that are excellent.

The second part of the volume deals with the two very weighty questions of Sacrifice and Mysteries. Anyone in touch with modern religious controversy, either within the Church or without it, will see at once that the Semaine was well inspired in subjecting these two question to a searching investigation. Here are eight papers on Sacrifice by very competent scholars, five on various Mysteries, with a sixth by Père de Grandmaison comparing and contrasting Pagan and Christian mysteries, and three on the cognate subject of tribal initiations and secret societies. This ought to suffice to show the value of the work, which is meant in the first place for serious students, but which, with the exception of some few technical and difficult pages, will be intelligible to all who feel an interest in the matters dealt with. P. J. Gannon.

Books also received:

Allen, P. S. ... ... Sir Thomas More. Selections from his English Works (Milford, 3/6).
Baeumker, Clemens Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Alfred von Sareshel. (Aschendorff., 4/6).
Baumann, Emile ... L'anneau d'or des grands mystiques. (Grasset, 7 fr. 50).
Carvalho, Leonard de Saint Bonaventure. Le Docteur Franciscain. (Beauchesne, 14 fr.).
Cecilia, Madame ... The Gospel according to Saint Mark. (Burns ,O. W., 5/-).
Chattopadhyaya, H. Pundalik. A Play in Verse. (Shama'a Publishing Ho., Re. 1).
Comte, Auguste ... Pensées et Préceptes. (Grasset, 7 fr. 50).
Cooper, John M. ... Play Fair. (Washington: Catholic Education Press).
Day, Henry ... ... The New Morality. A Candid Criticism. (Heath Cranton, 3/6).
Denniston, J. D. ... Greek Literary Criticism. (Dent, 5/-).
Devas, Dominic ... Mother Mary of the Passion. Foundress of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary. (Longmans, 2/6).
Dimnet, Ernest ... French Grammar Made Clear. (Routledge).
Dominique, Pierre ... Notre Dame de la Sagesse. (Grasset, 7 fr. 50).
Donaldson, John ... Account of the Barony of Upper Fews n the Co. of Armagh. (Dundalgan Press, 2/6).
Drane, Augusta T. ... Christian Schools and Scholars. New revised ed. (Burns, O. W. 15/-).
Elliott, Walter ... A Retreat for Priests. (Washington: Apostolic Mission Hse., $1.65).
Felder, Hilarin ... Christ and the Critics. (Burns, O. W., 12/6).
Fey, Mother Clare · Lenten Meditations. (Burns, O. W., 5/-).

Books also received—*continued.*

GALTIER, PAULUS ... De Poenitentia. Tractatus dogmaticus-historicus. (Beauchesne 20fr.)

GEMELLI, AGOSTINO ... Nuovi Orizzonti della Psicologia sperimentale. (*Vita e Pensiero*, L. 18).
Non Moechaberis. Disquisitiones medicae in usum Confessariorum Ed. sexta. (*Vita e Pensiero*, L. 12.)

GORCE, MATTHIEU ... Saint Vincent Ferrier. (Plon, 12 fr.).

GRABMANN, MARTIN ... Das Seelenleben des hl. Thomas von Aquin. (Munich: Theatiner Verlag, M. 2).

HAMON, AUGUSTE ... Histoire de la Dévotion au Sacré Coeur. Tome I. Vie de S. Maguerite-Marie. (Beauchesne, 20 fr.).

HERWEGEN, J. ... Saint Benedict. A Character Sketch. (Sands, 7/6).

HONORE, LEON ... Le Secret de la Confession. (Bruges: Beyaert, 10 fr.)

HULL, ERNEST R. ... John, Henry III., and later Medieval Period (Examiner Press, 12 annas).

HUYSMANS, J. K. ... The Oblate. (Kegan Paul, 7/6).

JAMES, MONTAGUE R. The Apocryphal New Testament. (Milford, 10/-).

JARRETT, BEDE ... The Life of Saint Dominic. (Burns, O. W., 6/-).

LAHORGUE, PIERRE ... Le Réalisme de Pascal. Essai de Synthèse philosophique, apologétique et mystique. (Beauchesne, 20 fr.)

MARECHAL, JOSEPH ... Le Point de Départ de la Métaphysique. Cahiers I.—III (Alcan, 12 fr. 50 each).
Etudes sur la Psychologie des Mystiques. (Alcan, 12 fr. 50).

MARGOLIOUTH, D. S. · The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam. (Milford, 6/-).

MARMION, ABBOT ... Christ in his Mysteries. Spiritual and Liturgical Conferences (Sands, 12/6).

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NICKERSON, HOFFMAN The Inquisition. (Bale and Danielsson, 15/-).

NOLDIN, H. ... ... De Principiis Theologiae Moralis. 17th ed. (Innsbruck: Rauch)

OLGIATI, FRANCESCO ... Primi Lineamenti di Pedagogia cristiana. (*Vita e Pensiero*, L. 7).
I Nostri Giovani e la Purezza. (*Vita e Pensiero*, L. 2.50).

O'SULLIVAN, A. M. ... Teresa Higginson, 1845-1905. (Sands, 4/-).

PARISH PRIEST ... Rough Sermon Notes on the Sunday Gospels. (Sands, 3/6).

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RIVERS, W. H. R. ... Medicine, Magic and Religion. (Kegan Paul, 10/6).

RYAN, DESMOND ... James Connolly. (Talbot Press, 2/6).

SABATINI, RAPHAEL ... Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition. (Stanley Paul, 12/6).

SCHEUER, PIERRE ... Notes Bibliographiques sur la Contemplation infuse. (Beauchesne)

SCOTT, MARTIN J. ... Man. (Sands, 4/-).

SECORD, ARTHUR W. · Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe. (University of Illinois Press, $1.50).

STUART, JANET E. ... Poems. (Longmans, 2/6).

TABLEY, LORD DE ... Select Poems. (Milford, 3/6).

TAWNEY, R. H. ... Education. The Socialist Policy (Independent Labour Party, 1/-).

TOYNBEE, ARNOLD J. Greek Historical Thought. (Dent, 5/-).
Greek Civilisation and Character. (Dent, 5/-).

VAUSSARD, MAURICE ... Enquête sur le Nationalisme. ("Editions Spes," 12 fr.).

VIETS, EDWARD ... Ad Somnum. (Boston: Four Seas Co.).

WALSH, GERALD ... The Emperor Charles IV. (Blackwell, 3/6).

ZACCHI, ANGELO ... Il Miracolo. (*Vita e Pensiero*, L. 20).

An Introduction to Reflective Thinking. By Columbia Associates in Philosophy. (Constable, 10/6).

Famille, Travail, Epargne. Les quatre rapports lus à la première séance publique de l'Académie d'Education et d'Entre-aide sociales. ("Editions Spes," 3 fr.).

Festgabe zum 70 Geburtstage Clemens Baeumker. (Aschendorffsche Verlag, 9/6).

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